VOL. XLVII NO. 2

The Catholic Historical Review

MARTIN R. P. McGUIRE ROBERT TRISCO

JOHN TRACY ELLIS
Managing Editor

ADVISORY EDITORS

JOHN F. BRODERICK, S.J.
Weston College

DAVID J. HERLIHY
Bryn Mawr College

WILLIAM J. COLEMAN, M.M.
Maryknoll Seminary

FRANK L. KLEMENT
Marquette University

MARSHALL DILL, Jr.
Dominican College of San Rafael

VINCENT G. TEGEDER, O.S.B.
St. John's University
Collegeville

Table of Contents

JULY, 1961

ARTICLES

Bishop Verot and the Civil War . . *Willard E. Wight* 153

Nazi Germany and the Holy See, 1933-1936 . . . . *William M. Harrigan* 164

MISCELLANY

History at the Catholic University of Lublin . . . . *James J. Zatko* 199

BOOK REVIEWS 206

NOTES AND COMMENTS 258

BRIEF NOTICES 270

PERIODICAL LITERATURE 284

BOOKS RECEIVED 293

BOOK REVIEWS

The Papal Princes. A History of the Sacred College of Cardinals. (Glenn D. Kittler). Robert Trisco 206
Heirs of the Roman Empire. (Richard E. Sullivan). Gerald J. Campbell 208
The Greek East and the Latin West. A Study in the Christian Tradition. (Philip Sherrard). Francis Dvornik 209
Constantine and Religious Liberty. (Hermann Doerries). William F. McDonald 211
Colum's Other Island. The Irish at Lindisfarne. (Gareth W. Dunleavy). Aubrey Gwynn 212
Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis. (Carl Selmer). John Ryan 214
The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy. The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century. (S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker). Frederick R. McManus 215
Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1527). (Paolo Prodi). George T. Dennis 216
The World and Men Around Luther. (Walter G. Tillsmann). Raphael M. Huber 217
Saint Ignatius of Loyola Letters to Women. (Hugo Rahner. S.J.). Sister Joseph Damien Hanlon 218
St. Paul of the Cross. Founder of the Passionists. (Charles Alméras). Thomas F. Casey 221
The Calas Affair. Persecution, Toleration, and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Toulouse. (David D. Bien). Harold L. Stansell 222
La Stato Pontificio e il Movimento Riformatore del Settecento. (Luigi Dal Pane). Mary Lucille Shay 223
Revolution and Papacy, 1769-1846. (E. E. Y. Hales). Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny 224
Church and State in Canada West: 1841-1867. (John S. Moir). T. J. Hanrahan 226
The Churches and the Church. A Study of Ecumenism. (Bernard Leeming, S.J.). Hermes Kreilkamp 227
History of Religion in the United States. (Clifton E. Olmstead). Paul J. Mabrey 229
Brass-Knuckle Crusade. The Great Know-Nothing Conspiracy: 1820-1860. (Carleton Beals). Hugh J. Nolan 231
History of the Catholic Church in Nebraska. Vol. I: *The Church on the Northern Plains, 1838-1874.* (Henry W. Casper, S.J.). Peter Beckman 232
The Visit of Archbishop Gaetano Bedini to the United States of America (June, 1853-February, 1854). (James F. Connelly). Francis G. McManamin 234
American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865-1950. (Aaron I. Abell). Francis L. Broderick 235
The Catholic Vote. (John H. Fenton). Vincent F. Holden 236
Edmund Burke and Ireland. (Thomas H. D. Mahoney). John Edmund O'Brien 238
Mrs. Fitzherbert. (Anita Leslie). Annabelle M. Melville 239
Roma Capitale dal Risorgimento alla crisi dello stato liberale. (Alberto Caracciolo). Howard R. Marraro 241

In Hard Times: Reformers Among the Late Victorians. (Herman Ausubel). James Francis Sullivan 243
The Shaping of Modern Ireland. (Conor Cruise O'Brien). Paul R. Locher 244
A Conscience in Conflict: The Life of St. George Jackson Mivart. (Jacob W. Gruber). John J. O'Connor 245
Essays in American Historiography: Papers Presented in Honor of Allan Nevins. (Donald Sheehan and Harold C. Syrett). J. Joseph Huthmacher 246
Henry Adams and Brooks Adams: The Education of Two American Historians. (Timothy Paul Donovan). Raymond J. Cunningham 248
The American Supreme Court. (Robert G. McCloskey). Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer 249
The Federalist Era: 1789-1801. (John C. Miller). Ronald J. Oard 250
The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830. (Richard C. Wade). Nelson Callahan 251
The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860. (Louis Filler). Frank L. Klement 252
Fortune's Merry Wheel. The Lottery in America. (John Samuel Ezell). William D. Hoyt, Jr. 253
Frémont's Fourth Expedition: A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-1849. (LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen). Francis Paul Prucha 254
Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations. (Mason Wade). John Conway 255

The Catholic Historical Review

Vol. XLVII JULY, 1961 No. 2

BISHOP VEROT AND THE CIVIL WAR

By

Willard E. Wight*

Jean Marcel Pierre Auguste Verot was born on May 23, 1805, at Le Puy in France. Educated in the schools of his native place and at the Sulpician seminary in Paris, he was ordained a priest on September 20, 1828. Shortly thereafter he joined the Sulpicians, and in 1830 was sent to teach at St. Mary's College in Baltimore. Here he gave instruction in philosophy as well as in the higher branches of mathematics and the natural sciences. The college closed its doors in 1852, and Verot became a parish priest at Ellicott's Mills, Maryland, and also served surrounding missions. He was lifted from his obscurity in 1857, when he was appointed titular Bishop of Danabe and Vicar Apostolic of Florida by Pope Pius IX. It was, indeed, a poor jurisdiction that he had been called to administer; for there were only three or four priests and no religious institutions in the entire state. He was further honored on July 14, 1861, when he was named the third Bishop of Savannah, Georgia, a see that had been vacant since 1859. Thus were Verot's problems and burdens further increased, for he was continued in his Florida responsibility.[1]

---

* Mr. Wight is a member of the Department of Social Sciences of the Georgia Institute of Technology.

[1] This sketch of Verot is based upon the following: Richard J. Purcell, "Jean Marcel Pierre Auguste Verot," in the *Dictionary of American Biography,* XIX, 252-253; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* XII, 535; John H. O'Donnell, C.S.C., *The Catholic Hierarchy of the United States, 1790-1922* (Washington, 1922), pp. 19-20; Jeremiah J. O'Connell, *Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia* (New York, 1879), pp. 540-550; and Benjamin J. Blied, "Bishop Verot of Savannah," in *Georgia Review,* V (Summer, 1951), 162-169.

The upsurge of secession sentiment occasioned by the nomination and election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, and the civil war following the formation of the Confederate States of America, made Verot's supervision of the Catholics in Georgia and Florida extremely difficult. This paper will be devoted to Bishop Verot's position on slavery, his advocacy of the independence of the Confederacy, his solution of the problems created by the Union blockade, and his concern for the spiritual life of the military within his jurisdiction, especially those who were prisoners at Andersonville.

When President James Buchanan called upon the people of the United States to observe January 4, 1861, as a day of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer in view of the critical state of public affairs, Verot took as his sermon text "Justice exalteth a nation; but sin maketh nations miserable." "The political horizon has become gloomy," the bishop told his congregation in St. Augustine, "discord and disunion are rapidly spreading over the length and breadth of the land; horrors of war, and of the worst kind—of civil war—are staring us in the face." Slavery, he continued, was the origin of the current disturbance, for it was "the fatal sand-bank upon which the Ship of State has already been made a total or partial wreck." Verot proceeded to show, on the one hand, "how unjust, iniquitous, unscriptural, and unreasonable" were the assertions of the abolitionists who branded slavery as a moral evil, and a crime against God, religion, humanity, and society; whereas, it had "received the sanction of God, of the Church, and of Society at all times in all governments." On the other hand, he presented to his hearers the conditions under which servitude was legitimate, lawful, approved by all laws, and was consistent with practical religion and true holiness of life in masters who fulfilled these conditions. The conditions were: 1) that the domestic slave trade only be countenanced; 2) that "the rights of free colored persons be respected"; 3) that the whites "not take advantage of the weakness, ignorance, dependence and lowly position of colored females, whether slaves or not—availing themselves of the impunity which, hitherto, laws in the South have extended in this sort of iniquity"; 4) that the matrimonial regulations be observed among the slaves through the enforcement of the laws of marriage among them, for the owners were not "the masters of their slaves in such a way that they can forbid marriage; or prescribe it as a pleasure"; and 5) that "servants be provided with the means of knowing and practicing religion."

Thoroughly sincere in his desire that slavery be placed upon a proper basis, Bishop Verot arranged for the publication of his sermon as a "tract for the times." Before the manuscript was sent to the printers, however, the Confederate States had been formed and the bishop inserted in the body of the sermon a call to the wise and virtuous of the Confederacy to unite "and combine their prudence, their patriotism, their humanity and their religious integrity to divest slavery of the features which made it odious to God and man." He proposed that a servile code "defining clearly the rights and duties of slaves" be drawn up and adopted by the Confederate States to prove to the world that the South was "on the side of justice, morality, reason and religion."[2] Verot's proposal anticipated by some years the movement to humanize slavery which swept over the Confederacy in 1863 and 1864 and which probably failed only because of the preoccupation of the state legislatures with the problems of the war.[3] The wide circulation of the prelate's sermon achieved for him a modicum of fame, especially in the North where he was known henceforth as a rebel bishop.

Convinced of the moral and legal basis of slavery, and of its position as the cause of the present state of affairs, the Vicar Apostolic of Florida sanctioned the formation of the Confederate States. In a discourse delivered in Augusta, Georgia, in December, 1861, Verot spoke of the violation of the constitutional rights of the South by the North through the nullification of the fugitive slave law by the acts of the various northern state legislatures, and he assured his hearers that the northerners were the rebels—"not we of the South."[4] Thus when President Jefferson Davis later expressed a desire that public and solemn thanks be returned to Almighty God for the signal victories of the Confederacy in the summer of 1862, Verot prescribed and ordered "that the usual hymn of Thanksgiving in the church, the 'Te Deum,' be sung, or at least read on Thursday, the 18th [of September], in all Catholic Churches of Georgia and Florida, with the exception of St. Augustine," already in the hands of the Yankees.[5]

---

[2] *Slavery and Abolitionism, Being the Substance of a Sermon Preached in the Church of St. Augustine, Florida, on the 4th Day of January, 1861, Day of Public Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer* (Baltimore, 1861), *passim*. Long considered a Confederate imprint, Verot wrote of it: "John Murphy of Baltimore printed for me a tract for the times which was not published in Baltimore because the Most Rev. Abp. thought it would create an excitement. The edition was sent to me, via Charleston on one of the steamers that ply between your city & Baltimore." Archives of the Diocese of Charleston, Envelope 120, Verot to Patrick N. Lynch, St. Augustine, May 7, 1861. Hereafter these archives will be designated as: ADC. The sermon was later published in New Orleans in both English and French. "Records of the Episcopal Acts of Rt. Rev. Augustin Verot, Bishop of Savannah and Administrator Apostolic of Florida," in Benedict Roth (Ed.), *Brief History of the Church of St. Augustine, Florida* (St. Leo, Florida, 1923-1940), p. 154.

[3] Bell I. Wiley, "The Movement to Humanize the Institution of Slavery During the Confederacy," *Emory University Quarterly,* V (December, 1949), 207-220.

Firmly believing in the justice of the Confederate cause, Verot utilized the only power at his command to assure its success—the power of prayer. He proposed to the Catholic bishops of both the United States and the Confederacy in 1863, that all the Catholics on both sides, in accordance with the expressed wish of Pope Pius IX, "unite to ask peace of Almighty God."[6] He addressed a pastoral letter to his own people in which he anticipated criticism of such a course. To the objection that it would be praying for the subjugation of the South, he pointed out that peace could not come through subjugation, for that would "not change the minds of the millions . . . who have irrevocably decreed their separation from the northern portion of the country, and the formation of an independent government." Subjugation, if it were possible, he declared, would bring on a war worse even than that then raging. After pointing out that prayers for peace for an unjust cause would be inconsistent with the teachings of the Gospel, Verot assured his followers that "the justice of our cause is clear; clear enough to admit of no doubts in our mind." Almost apologetically, he admitted that his remarks savored more or less of political strife, but he defended their inclusion on the grounds that it was "important to show the justice of our cause, and that we are not presumptious culprits and imprudent wretches, asking for peace against law."[7]

In a further effort to promote peace and the independence of the Confederacy, Bishop Verot composed "An Address to the People of the United States in Behalf of Peace." Published in late 1864 after Georgia had begun to feel the effects of war upon her own soil, it was designed to show the people of the North that the war was "unjust, unbecoming and ruinous" to them. Verot declared that even if one granted that the war was just from the northern viewpoint, they had made it unjust through the manner in which it was waged. As proof he cited the wanton destruction of churches and the oppression of the captured civilian populations, particularly the exile of the citizens of Atlanta. Appealing to Yankee greed, he pointed out that if the war were stopped at once by a treaty of peace with the South, there would be an opportunity for the North "to send us again your calicoes, your knives, your soap, all your knick-knacks, and even your wooden nutmegs, if our people are willing to buy them."[8]

---

[4] Augusta *Constitutionalist,* December 17, 1861.

[5] Savannah *Daily Morning News,* September 11, 1862.

[6] ADC, Envelope 148, Verot to Lynch, October 5, 1863.

[7] *Peace Pastoral of Right Rev. A. Verot, Bishop of Savannah, Administrator of Florida. November, 1863* (Augusta, 1863), pp. 6-8.

Despite the spirit of bravado in his reference to the items of trade which the North could furnish an independent southern Confederacy, Bishop Verot was well aware of the inconveniences and hardships imposed upon the young nation as a result of the Union blockade of the Confederate ports. The tightening of the blockade and the gradual elimination of ports of entry for the blockade runners cut off Verot's customary source of religious materials. This was particularly true of religious publications, for he, like the other Catholic prelates of the South Atlantic states, had long relied upon the printing presses of Baltimore. Early in 1862, the complete exhaustion of former editions of the Catholic catechism used in preparing children and adults for reception into the Church forced Verot to publish one of his own. So great was the demand for this item, not only in his own diocese but in other parts of the Confederacy, that a new edition was printed in 1864.[9] Likewise, even the *ordo* or directory for the divine office and celebration of Mass had to be locally produced. Verot published an *ordo* for 1862 and 1864 in pamphlet form in English "on the plan of the Directory found in the Catholic Almanac." The *ordo* for 1865 was published serially in the newly founded Catholic newspaper.[10]

The greatest deprivation which Bishop Verot experienced as the Federal army gradually encompassed the Confederacy was, perhaps, the absence of a Catholic newspaper. The Charleston, South Carolina, *Catholic Miscellany* had ceased publication in late 1861 after fire had destroyed the press of that journal as well as one-sixth of the city.[11] The capture of New Orleans in April, 1862, had removed from the Confederacy its only other Catholic papers and left the members of that faith dependent upon those that had not only run the blockade but had been published under Yankee supervision.[12] Acutely aware of the need for an organ, in August, 1864, Verot made arrangements with two young men for the weekly publication in Augusta, Georgia, of the *Pacificator*.[13] The principal objects of the journal, as outlined in the first issue, were "to give the Catholic ecclesiastics of the South an organ for the promulgation of their religious documents—to furnish Catholic readers with a pure Catholic literature and intelligence from the Catholic Church in other parts of the world—to remove those unfounded prejudices and unjust assumptions against the Church of Rome, which exist in the minds of so many outside of her jurisdiction—and above all, to aid, by every honorable means in our humble power, in restoring to our Confederacy an honorable and lasting peace."[14]

---

[8] Augusta *Pacificator,* October 8, 15, 22, 1864. Published simply as "By a Catholic Divine," internal evidence indicates that it was written by Verot.

[9] ADC, Envelope 131, Verot to Lynch, January 8, 1862. William H. Elder, Bishop of Natchez, saw "some things to criticize, and many to admire in it." Elder to Jean Marie Odin, Archbishop of New Orleans, March 24, 1862, New Orleans Papers, University of Notre Dame; Verot, "Episcopal Acts," p. 160.

[10] Charleston *Catholic Miscellany,* November 28, 1861; Augusta *Pacificator,* January 28, February 4, 1865. Copies of the 1862 and 1864 *ordo* are at Duke University.

True to the last of these purposes, the first three issues of the weekly carried Verot's "Address to the People of the United States."[15] The issue of March 11, 1865, carried as its leading article the proposal of the Reverend Joseph P. O'Connell of Columbia, South Carolina, that a grand peace party, with the Catholics of the United and Confederate States as a nucleus, be formed but which all peoples would be invited to join. It was the belief of O'Connell "that if both Governments appointed a half dozen Catholic priests, and empowered them to devise an end to this conflict, before one week they would settle the whole difficulty, and give reasonable satisfaction to both parties."[16]

[11] In addition the losses to the diocese included the cathedral, the episcopal residence, the diocesan seminary with its library, a boy's orphan asylum, and an adjoining building. The academy of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, the girl's orphan asylum, and a school for poor girls were seriously injured. ADC, Envelope 178, Lynch, Bishop of Charleston, to the Central Council of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, Lyons, France, September 7, 1865, copy.

[12] *Le Propagateur Catholique* and the *Catholic Standard* were both published in New Orleans.

[13] Verot, "Episcopal Acts," p. 160.

[14] Augusta *Pacificator,* October 8, 1864.

[15] *Ibid.,* October 8, 15, 22, 1864.

[16] *Ibid.,* March 11, 1865.

Bishop Verot's interest in peace was a natural consequence of the scenes which he as shepherd of his people had frequently witnessed. "How often my heart has been rended by pain," he wrote in reference to conscription, "in seeing a father of a family torn from his fireside and sometimes two or three of his sons with him, forced to leave a distressed wife and several young children incapable themselves of procuring the things of first necessity."[17] After Sherman's passage through Georgia, Verot described a visit to a section of his diocese as follows:

> I encountered almost at each step the horses, the cows, the sheep, the hogs, likewise the dogs, stretched dead on the road. On entering the houses, I was able to learn from the victims of this vandalism that which they had had to suffer. All of value had been carried off, the household goods broken up, the provisions consumed. At the approach of the Yankees, some families buried themselves in the swamps, waiting there two or three days during which the enemy passed on. On their return these poor people found the dwelling devastated when it was not completely burned and hunger made them gather up the grains of corn passed over by the horses. More than one time I have had to ask for hospitality in some houses where not a single bed remained; I shared the lot of those unfortunates in the form of sleeping on the floor.[18]

A further complication of the bishop's administrative work was the fact that a portion of his Florida jurisdiction early fell into Federal hands and he was forced to pass back and forth between the lines of the two armies when visiting his people. Difficult as it was for Verot when travelling alone to cross from Federal into Confederate territory, it was doubly so when he was accompanied by either priests or religious. The Sisters of Mercy at St. Augustine had established a convent at Columbus, Georgia, and had opened a school there in 1862. When Verot wished to take five of the sisters from the Florida convent across the lines to staff the establishment in Georgia, he encountered both delay and indignity. Although he had been in St. Augustine for two months, the authorities procrastinated ten days before granting him a pass to leave the city. Underway at last he was plagued by the rumor that he was transporting slaves disguised as sisters. The fact that two of the nuns—one from Virginia and one from Cuba—were dark-complexioned lent substance to the story. However, after an examination of the fingernails of the two in question, the party was allowed to proceed. The next year the bishop was allowed to exchange two sisters without difficulty, but in 1864 he again encountered trouble in leaving the Federal lines to take two nuns and a postulant to Columbus.[19]

---

[17] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* XXXVII (September, 1865), 396. All quotations from the *Annales* have been translated from the original French by the writer.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397.

Concerned as well for the spiritual welfare of the men in the armed forces, Verot not only furnished them with chaplains as far as he was able, but he personally ministered to those in camps which lay along the route of his diocesan tours. In early 1864 he gave communion to the crews of the *Georgia* and of the *Savannah* while they were in port, and later spent two weeks with General Joseph E. Johnston's Army of Tennessee at Dalton, Georgia, hearing confessions, preaching, and administering confirmation. About 150 received holy communion and 125 were confirmed.[20]

Despite his personal ministrations, the greatest service which Bishop Verot performed, and the action which was, perhaps, the highlight of his career, was his sending two Catholic priests to serve the Union prisoners at Andersonville. Father Peter Whelan, immortalized in Mackinlay Kantor's novel, was sent to the prison in April, 1864, and was followed in July by Father Henry Clavruel.[21] The latter became ill after thirty-six days' labor and returned to Savannah, where he later served prisoners transferred there from Andersonville.[22] Bishop Verot himself twice visited the prison[23] and left an account of conditions there which is, no doubt, based in part upon the experiences of Father Whelan. To a correspondent in France, Verot wrote on May 25, 1865, half in apology and half in explanation:

> The Confederates had gathered at Andersonville all the Federal prisoners. There passed through there fifty thousand prisoners, and there was

---

[19] Verot, "Episcopal Acts," pp. 155, 158-160; Sister Mary Eulalia Herron, "Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the Dioceses of the South," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, XXXVI (June, 1925), 155-161.

[20] Verot, "Episcopal Acts," p. 160.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] "Very Rev. Henry Peter Clavruel's Diary," Benedict Roth (Ed.), *Brief History of the Church of St. Augustine, Florida, op. cit.*, p. 56.

[23] Verot, "Episcopal Acts," pp. 160-161.

gathered there up to thirty or thirty-five thousand of them at one time. They were penned up in an improvised enclosure made of trunks of trees sunk vertically into the ground. On this barrier, elevated about five meters, were posts, at different points, of soldiers charged with guarding the prisoners. There were crowded together pell mell more than thirty thousand men. It was necessary for them to spend in this strange prison the hottest months of the year, June to September, under a tropical sun without any sort of shelter. A few of these unfortunates sought to supply it by the aid of their rags hung on the end of a stick. Lucky were those who had a wretched covering.

The diet corresponded to the lodgings; the daily ration consisted of a little corn bread, where the bran was mixed with the flour, and several ounces of salt pork. But almost the whole of the prisoners were attacked by scurvy which affected their teeth; they were not able to take this poor food. One readily imagines the plaints and murmurings of those unfortunates; but it was impossible to remedy. The Confederates maintained that they gave to the prisoners the same rations as to their own soldiers; and it is very true that it was impossible because of the blockade to procure wheat bread. Of the propositions to exchange the prisoners nothing came; this state of things continued for many months.

An appalling mortality showed itself shortly after sickness became prevalent. One was not any less forced to heap one on the other, the victims condemned to a death as horrible as premature. Informed of what was occurring, I sent two priests to Andersonville, and I felt obliged to go there myself two different times. These two priests spent all day in the camp hearing confessions of the dying and administering extreme unction because the Catholics there were numerous. Many Protestants and many unbelievers had the good fortune of conversion to our holy religion and received baptism. This was a new kind of ministry; for it was necessary to accept, in the middle of the multitude, the confession of the sick lying on the ground; but the imminence of death did not leave time for human niceties.

That which was most painful to human nature during this ministry was the horrible stench which was emitted by this agglomeration of men in a space so restricted and it truly took a superhuman effort to cross the little thin stream of water which passed through the middle of the camp and served as the receptacle of all the filth.

The majority of the unfortunates were without clothes, and a goodly number entirely nude; it was a hideous spectacle. It was useless to object; the government of the South could not clothe the soldiers, how could it have clothed its prisoners? The number of those who died was dreadful; in the space of about two hours and without my advancing more than twenty

> paces into the enclosure, I confessed and administered for my part nine diseased, and I stopped only at the most urgent cases. I have to thank the divine Providence for having preserved the lives of the missionaries who devoted themselves to that harsh apostolate; one of them, nevertheless, fell ill. The prisoners were extremely affected to see these two priests remaining constantly with them and they often asked why no Protestant ministers came. They were ignorant that error, sterile by its nature, will not produce the rush of charity proportionate to the extent of the needs.
>
> The continuous sight of death as it occurred at Andersonville when one encountered the bodies as it were at each step ended by blunting all humane sentiment. The prisoners pitilessly refused the slightest service to their dying companions. A band of assassins organized itself for the object of killing their companions during the night simply to get hold of their wretched clothes and of little articles for their own use. Many murders of this sort were committed. Finally the plot was discovered, and with the authorization of the prison head, the prisoners constituted themselves a tribunal and six of their comrades, found guilty, were condemned and hanged. They were generally of the adventurers from Europe, for among the prisoners were found men of all nations: Irish, English, German, Swiss, French, Italian, Spanish and even Indians.[24]

Ardent Confederate though he was, Bishop Verot found little difficulty in accounting for the loss of the war, and in drawing a blessing from the outcome. In October, 1865, in a pastoral letter he returned to the theme of his sermon of January 4, 1861. "You have prayed earnestly during the last years of the war for a speedy and lasting peace," he told his people. He continued:

> That peace has been granted you; it is true, it is not perhaps such a one as you desired. Peace has come to you, not with the perpetuation but with the abolition of slavery. You have lost your servants. But let me ask you: had you complied faithfully with the obligation incumbent on you to give a truly Christian education and instruction to those servants, and to gain them to God and prepare them for heaven, as it was your duty to do? This obligation is now shifted from your hands unto those servants, themselves. Many will thereby find an enormous reduction in the account they will have to render to their God, at the bar of divine justice. Is not this a just cause of joy and congratulations?[25]

---

[24] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* XXXVII (September, 1865), 397-400.

[25] *Jubilee Pastoral of Right Rev. A. Verot, Bishop of Savannah and Administrator Apostolic of Florida for 1865* (N.p., n.d.), p. 9.

With this note of consolation, Augustin Verot, Bishop of Savannah and Vicar Apostolic of Florida, bade his people face the future. Himself the embodiment of humility and meekness, a fable about him still current in St. Augustine in the 1920's illustrates the simplicity of his life and character. Once when he and Father Clavruel were travelling in the diocese by the means of spring wagon and mule, they stopped for the night. When Verot asked at the nearest residence for lodging for the night, the woman of the house inquired his business and occupation. Finding that he was a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, she banged the door in his face and left the two travellers to their own devices. Verot then produced a violin from among his travelling effects and began to play. "The strains he evoked were not hymn tunes, as pious folks might expect as proper episcopal music, but the lively measures of dance and jig." Presently he drew boys and girls who began to dance to the infectious music. When darkness fell they persuaded the fiddler to enter the house where the dance continued "under the now apologetic eyes of the lady of the house—doubtless the most fantastic entertainment ever staged in the State of Florida."[26] So runs the fable about this true son of the Church who advocated the cause of the South, comforted the southern people in their sorrows, and helped to lighten the burden of their crosses.

Georgia Institute of Technology

---

[26] Marguerite P. Corcoran, "The Faith in Florida," *Catholic World,* CXIX (September, 1924), 814-819.

NAZI GERMANY AND THE HOLY SEE, 1933-1936:

The Historical Background of *Mit brennender Sorge*

BY

WILLIAM M. HARRIGAN*

When National Socialism gained control of the German government in January, 1933, a second and more severe *Kulturkampf* with the Roman Catholic Church became inevitable. Despite Hitler's protestations, both before and after his accession to power, that he had no desire to interfere in religious questions and that his party could live in peace with both Christian confessions; despite the prospect of a mutually advantageous alliance of party and Church against the dangers of Communism; and even despite the early conclusion of a concordat between the new Reich government and the Holy See—Nazism and Catholicism graduated from mutual distrust into a high degree of bitter enmity.

Such a conclusion is not surprising; the surprise is, perhaps, that another conclusion could have been thought possible. Yet many did think, both before and after 1933, at least as late as 1936, that a *modus vivendi* between the Nazi movement and the Church might be reached. Many clung to the belief that as long as the churches remained open, and the right of worship unmolested, there was no fundamental, essential hostility to the Catholic Church on the part of National Socialism. Many German Catholics, caught in the fever of intense nationalism and determined to prove themselves good Germans, became prey for such slogans as "A vote for the Center is a vote for the Reds,"[1] and, a little later, accepted the charges of "political Catholicism" made against their bishops. An equal number, eager to accept the apparent political and economic blessings of reconstruction, chose to ignore the irreconcilable contradictions between the Nazi *Weltanschauung* and Catholic doctrine. Many others confidently awaited a word from the Führer, which, at the opportune moment, would suppress the unreasoned attacks of Rosenberg, Ley, Goebbels, and other dangerously anti-Christian Nazi extremists. These latter Catholics, more optimists than opportunists, were certain the elusive *modus vivendi* would be accomplished as soon as Hitler was convinced that the Church was not a political opponent. Too many German Catholics, both lay and clerical, were slow to rid themselves of such wishful thinking, of the fatal delusion that National Socialism and Roman Catholicism could work together for a Germany revitalized not only in its political and economic life but in its moral and religious habits as well.

---

* Mr. Harrigan is assistant professor of history in Canisius College. This article has been developed from a revision of a University of Michigan Ph.D. dissertation, "Nazi Germany and the Holy See, March 1937—September 1939," (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1955). The revision has been assisted by a Canisius College Faculty Research Grant.

[1] The implication in such slogans was that the Catholic Center Party cooperated with the Social Democrats in the Reichstag in a Red-Black alliance against German nationalism. Such accusations were frequently made in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the official Nazi daily newspaper.

However, the difficulty was not that the Catholic Church did not early see the dangers inherent in National Socialism. The error was in not seeing that they *were inherent,* in the hope that the anti-Christian part of National Socialism could be removed if only the Church would display a properly co-operative attitude in matters not strictly religious. If the Vatican was highly suspicious of the movement from the beginning, it only gradually became clear to the more sanguine and credulous members of the German episcopate and of the German Catholic laity, that the real meaning of National Socialism was a totalitarian State based on a myth of race and blood which demanded control over men's minds and souls as well as over their physical energies.

The first strong stand taken by the Church against National Socialism came in September, 1930, at the very time of the party's new and striking success in the Reichstag elections.[2] At this time the party was placed under an episcopal ban in the Diocese of Mainz, on the grounds that Article 24 of the Nazi program contained statements which were irreconcilable with Catholic doctrine.[3] Although Article 24 endorsed a rather ambiguous "positive Christianity," it had other phrases which were more questionable. It would deny, e.g., religious liberty to any denomination insofar as it might be considered a danger to the State, or might militate against the moral sense of the German race. Moreover, in view of the increasingly evident Nazi *Weltanschauung,* another phrase, "the common interest before self-interest" contained dangerous implications.[4] As the Nazi power increased and its totalitarian aims appeared less remote, its program became more suspect.

---

[2] The Nazi Party received over 6,400,000 votes and elected 107 representatives to the Reichstag in this election; it could, therefore, no longer be considered a negligible factor on the political scene.

[3] Cf. the exchange of letters between Nazi Headquarters, District of Hesse, and the Vicar General of the Diocese of Mainz, September, 1930, in John Brown Mason, *Hitler's First Foes* (Minneapolis, 1936), Appendices 1 and 2, pp. 92-94.

The opposition of the Bishop of Mainz to the National Socialist Party was echoed in the pastoral letters of other German bishops throughout the next two years. In February, 1931, e.g., the Bavarian bishops in a joint pastoral addressed grave warnings regarding the party.[5] By the summer of 1932 the condemnation had been endorsed by the entire German hierarchy, for at that time the Fulda episcopal conference, which included all the non-Bavarian bishops of Germany, denounced the errors of Nazism and went on record against Catholic membership in the party.[6]

Thus, when the National Socialist Party gained control of Germany in January, 1933, it was already on very poor terms with the Catholic Church. If there remained any doubt, in a meeting at Fulda in February, 1933, on the eve of the general election, the bishops warned the Catholic faithful to choose candidates " 'whose character and proved fidelity will guarantee their attitude . . . for the defense of the confessional school, for the Christian religion and for the Catholic Church.' " The voters were told to " 'beware of agitators and of parties which are not worthy of the confidence of the Catholic community.' "[7] The object of the warning was apparent to everyone.

However, in the month of March, 1933, a *rapprochement* between the Party and the Catholic Church became discernible. On March 23 Hitler made his effective appeal to the Reichstag for an enabling act, by which extraordinary powers would be granted his government and parliamentary processes by-passed. In this important speech he promised that his government would respect all agreements concluded between the Churches and the State. He explained that the government was " 'creating and securing the conditions necessary for a really profound revival of religious life,' " and that it saw " 'in the two Christian Confessions the weightiest factors for the maintenance of our nationality.' " The Reich government regarded " 'Christianity as the unshakeable foundation of the morals and moral code of the nation,' " and attached " 'the greatest value to friendly relations with the Holy See,' " which it was endeavoring to develop.[8] In the face of such assurances, the entire German hierarchy, meeting in a conference at Fulda five days later, on March 28, agreed upon a new conciliatory attitude toward the Nazi movement. The ban on National Socialism was formally raised and membership in the Nazi Party and the Catholic Church was no longer held to be incompatible. The bans on the previously condemned errors were not revoked, but, since the party Führer now publicly disavowed any anti-Christian intentions or objectives, the general prohibitions were held to be no longer necessary.[9] The full implications of Nazi totalitarianism had yet to be grasped, and the Church hoped that a working solution might be found, similar to that which had been adopted in Fascist Italy.

---

[4] The Nazi Party Program, dating from February 24, 1920, is reproduced in *The Speeches of Adolph Hitler, April '22-August '39,* edited by Norman Baynes (London, 1942), I, 102-107.

[5] The joint pastoral of of the Bavarian bishops and the condemnatory pastoral letters of other German bishops are printed in Jakob Nötges, S.J., *Nationalsozialismus und Katholicismus,* 2nd ed. (Cologne, 1932), pp. 106-126.

[6] The bishops' declaration is reproduced in Michele Maccarrone, *Il Nazionalsocialismo e la Santa Sede* (Rome, 1947), pp. 1-2.

[7] The declaration is printed in Wilhelm Corsten (Ed.), *Kölner Aktenstücke zur Lage der Katholischer Kirche in Deutschland, 1933-1945* (Cologne, 1949), pp. 3-4.

With this conclusion of a shaky truce between the Church and the new Berlin government, negotiations began both in Germany and at the Vatican for a solution of outstanding difficulties. Vice-Chancellor Franz von Papen, a prominent Catholic conservative and erstwhile Center Party member, paid an Easter visit to Pope Pius XI and initiated informal discussions with Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Secretary of State, about the conclusion of a concordat. In the negotiations which ensued, Cardinal Pacelli was assisted by Prälat Dr. Ludwig Kaas, who until May 6, 1933, was president of the Center Party, and by Conrad Gröber, Archbishop of Freiburg, as a representative of the German episcopate. In the final stages, von Papen was assisted by Dr. Rudolph Buttmann, who represented the Reich Ministry of the Interior.

---

[8] *Speeches of Adolph Hitler,* I, 370-372.

[9] The declaration is reproduced in Corsten, *op. cit.,* pp. 4-5.

While negotiations proceeded at the Vatican, conversations took place in Berlin between the representatives of the hierarchy and the government. Several interviews were granted by Hitler himself, who declared that Christianity was a necessary foundation for the German state, that the notoriously anti-Catholic *Myth of the 20th Century* by party philosopher Alfred Rosenberg, was of a completely private character, and that the Nazi program was to defend the rights and the liberty of the churches. He also gave assurances in the area most desired by the bishops, that of the Catholic schools and associations.[10] On April 28 he wrote to Adolf Cardinal Bertram, Archbishop of Breslau, who presided over the German episcopate as chairman of the Fulda conferences, that as long as the Catholic associations "do not entertain any partisan tendencies hostile to the present regime, there is also no intention to proceed against them."[11] Future difficulties were to arise, of course, in the interpretation of what constituted party politics.

As negotiations for a concordat still continued, the Fulda conference of German bishops, for the first time including also the Bavarian bishops, issued its annual collective pastoral letter.[12] Dated June 3, 1933, it was both conciliatory to the government and admonitory; it supported nationalism, but warned of exaggerated nationalism. It accepted the fact that strong authority is sometimes very necessary, but cautioned against the unnecessary curtailment of human liberty. The bishops applauded the physical development of the youth, but they warned against dangers to the soul. The pastoral indirectly attacked the proposal for a sterilization law, and more strongly attacked racial persecution. It also made a strong appeal for confessional schools, Catholic associations, and the Catholic press. But it made clear that " 'the fact that we German bishops make the above enumerated demands does not imply that they conceal a mental reservation to the new State.' " A final prayer was added that " 'the prudence and energy of Germany's leader will succeed in extinguishing all those sparks and glowing coals which, here and there, certain people would like to fan into a terrible conflagration against the Catholic Church.' " Such was the position of the German hierarchy regarding the new Nationalist Socialist Reich on the eve of the concordat.

---

[10] Cf., e.g., Document No. 18 in Germany, *Auswärtiges Amt, Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945,* Series C, I, 347-348. The Catholic associations were very basic to the highly organized German Catholic life. There were associations for German Catholic youth, divided according to sex, and associations for German Catholic adults, divided according to age and sex, or according to occupation. They engaged in various recreational, social, cultural, or professional, as well as religious, activities. Some of these had connections with the Center Party.

[11] *Ibid.,* C, I, No. 196, p. 361.

[12] The text is reproduced in *Osservatore Romano,* June 21, 1933.

The attitude of the Vatican was even more important than that of the German bishops if a Reich concordat were to be concluded. Cardinal Pacelli was not strongly dependent upon Prälat Kaas and Archbishop Gröber for an appraisal of the situation in Germany. He had resided there himself from 1917 to 1929, first as Apostolic Nuncio in Munich and then in Berlin. He was acquainted with the Nazi movement and apparently was one of the first European statesmen to read *Mein Kampf* from cover to cover. In his public speeches in Germany he had attacked more than once the anti-Christian character of Nazism.[13] With his first-hand knowledge of the Nazi movement, therefore, the cardinal was in no great hurry to sign a Reich concordat, although he had worked hard for such an agreement during the days of the Weimar Republic and had helped secure concordats with three of the federal German states, Bavaria (1924), Prussia (1929), and Baden (1932). Since, perhaps, eighteen million of the approximately twenty-million Catholics in Germany came under the provisions of the concordats with these three German states, and since Hitler had just promised publicly to respect these agreements, the Holy See preferred a policy of wait and see.[14]

On the other hand, the Reich was eager for an agreement. When von Papen arrived in Rome early in April he brought with him a *pro memoria* which had been presented to the Weimar Republic by Cardinal Pacelli when he had been nuncio. The Weimar government had rejected the chief demands of the document, but now von Papen assured the Holy See that the enabling act had ended the obstruction of the anti-clerical Social Democrats with regard to the confessional schools, and that an agreement along the lines desired by the Holy See was, indeed, possible. It is true that within Germany Papen's proposals were opposed by both the Nazi extremists and the foreign ministry as being too favorable to the Church, but Papen insisted to Hitler that only along lines generous to the Church could an agreement be reached.[15]

---

[13] Nazareno Padellaro, *Pio XII* (Rome, 1949), pp. 54-56. Lord D'Abernon, British Ambassador at Berlin during the 1920's when Pacelli was nuncio, said Pacelli was the best-informed diplomatist in Berlin. Cf. Great Britain, Foreign Ministry, *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939* (London, 1956), Second Series, V, No. 342, 525. Hereafter this work will be referred to as: *DBFP*.

[14] *DBFP*, Second Series, V, No. 85, 156.

The most important concession sought by Germany was the exclusion from party politics of the Catholic clergy, who through the Center Party had played such a prominent role on the German political stage. Indeed, this was the *conditio sine qua non* for the German government.[16] At the same time, this was not a particularly difficult point for the Church to concede, not only because it appeared that true parliamentary government had already been abolished in Germany, but because the Holy See was not especially interested in the survival of the Center Party. The Vatican was certainly far more interested in the guarantees for non-political activities it might obtain for the Catholic faithful living in a State rapidly becoming totalitarian.[17]

Cardinal Pacelli conducted negotiations with the German government until the weekend of June 10-11, the same weekend that the Fulda pastoral letter was read in all the churches. At this time a conference of Catholic journeymen's societies meeting in Munich was violently broken up by local Nazis who objected to the uniforms worn by the Catholics. A Bavarian priest died of injuries received on this occasion. With such evidence of ill will the Vatican threatened to break off negotiations, and an attitude of tension pervaded the conference rooms.[18] On July 2 the *Osservatore Romano,* the Vatican newspaper, declared that the conclusion of a concordat with the German Reich would in no way imply approval of National Socialist teachings.

---

[15] *DGFP,* C, I, No. 145, 266-268; Franz von Papen, *Der Wahrheit eine Gasse* (Munich, 1952), pp. 315-316; Hansjakob Stehle, "Motive des Reichskonkordats," *Aussenpolitik VII* (September 1956), 561-562; Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Nationalsozialistiche Machtergreifung und Reichskonkordat* (Wiesbaden, 1956), p. 53.

[16] For German insistence on this point cf. *DGFP,* C, I, Nos. 54, 145, 362, 278, 333, 347, 351, and 362.

[17] *DBFP,* Second Series, V, No. 85, 156 and No. 228, 383. It has been asserted in several places that Cardinal Pacelli was personally unsympathetic to the liberal strain in the Center Party and that Prälat Kaas favored a policy of non-resistance to the Nazi government in the question of political parties. Moreover, according to an official in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, who has used Buttman's papers, Cardinal Bertram favored the exclusion of priests from party politics. Cf. Walter Conrad, *Der Kampf um die Kanzeln* (Berlin, 1957), p. 32. For a recent study of the dissolution of the Center Party, and the role of the Vatican, cf. Rudolf Morsey, "Die Deutsche Zentrumspartei," in Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey (Eds.), *Das Ende der Parteien: 1933* (Düsseldorf, 1960), pp. 281-453.

Actually, negotiations had been resumed only under great pressure from the Berlin government. Cardinal Pacelli said shortly afterward that a pistol had been pointed at his head, and that he had had no alternative. He had been offered a choice between concessions, which were greater than any previous German government would have agreed to, and the threat of the virtual elimination of the Catholic Church in Germany. Not only that, he had been given only a week to make up his mind. He knew that the Nazis would violate the agreement, but at least the Holy See would have a treaty on which to base its protests, a stronghold behind which Catholics might be shielded. In any case, the Cardinal Secretary of State remarked that the Germans would probably refrain from violating all the articles of the concordat at the same time.[19] An agreement had the added advantage of providing an immediate solution to problems which had arisen since the beginning of negotiations, such as the occupation of the headquarters of certain Catholic associations by local authorities and the threat of a propaganda campaign, suggested by Josef Goebbels, the party propaganda chief, against the alleged immorality in Catholic monasteries.[20]

When the concordat was signed provisionally on July 8, von Papen issued a communique in Hitler's name, insisted upon by the Holy See, which withdrew all local measures of dissolution that had been effected against the Catholic associations recognized in the new agreement and rescinded all measures of constraint affecting both clerical and lay leaders of such associations. The communique also promised that any repetition of these oppressive measures in the future would incur the full rigor of the law.[21] For the Church's part, it accepted without protest the dissolution of the two Catholic parties, the Center Party and the Bavarian People's Party, which was accomplished a few days earlier.

---

[18] Stehle, *op. cit.,* p. 562; Ernst Deuerlein, *Das Reichskonkordat* (Düsseldorf, 1956), p. 116.

[19] *DBFP,* Second Series, V, No. 342, 525; *DGFP,* C, I, No. 319, 574; No. 3268-PS, International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nuremberg, 1947-49), XXXII, 112-113; François Charles-Roux, *Huit Ans au Vatican, 1932-1940* (Paris, 1947), p. 95; Robert Leiber, "Pius XII," *Stimmen der Zeit,* 163. Band, 2. Heft (November, 1958), p. 96.

[20] Papen, *op. cit.,* p. 316; *DGFP,* C, I, Nos. 341 and 347, 611 and 624.

The German government was immensely pleased at having secured an agreement, although Goebbels and the radical elements continued their protests. Papen immediately telegraphed to Hitler that the Reich Catholics from now on would be unreservedly in the service of the National Socialist State.[22] In a decisive meeting of the cabinet on July 14, Hitler rejected any debate about the particulars of the concordat, pointing out that an atmosphere of confidence would be created in Germany which would facilitate the work of reconstruction. No doubt the fact that his government would secure its first international agreement, and would take on an air of international respectability, loomed large in his thoughts as well. He told the opponents of the concordat at this conference that a few months before he would not have considered the Church's signing such an agreement possible, that it was "an indescribable success." Besides, he remarked, whatever defects the agreement might have for Germany could be changed later when the international situation had improved.[23]

On July 20, 1933, the Reich concordat was signed to regulate the relations between the Church and the State "in a permanent manner and on a basis acceptable to both parties."[24] It purported to give the Church an official guarantee of its rights, including freedom for its organizations, and the right to maintain Catholic schools and to preserve its general influence upon the education of the German youth. Of the thirty-three articles of the instrument, twenty-one dealt exclusively with the rights and prerogatives accorded to the Church. Reciprocally, for the protection of the State, a limitation was placed upon the active clergy, requiring them to be German citizens and to have received a German education, while bishops were bound to pledge loyalty to the Reich government. The entire clergy was debarred from membership in a political party or activity on behalf of any party. The concordat also provided that Catholic religious instruction should emphasize the patriotic duties of the Christian citizen and an attitude of loyalty toward the Fatherland.

---

[21] The communique is printed in *Völkischer Beobachter,* July 9/10, 1933; cf. also *DGFP,* C, I, Nos. 347 and 750, 624 and 634, and Conrad, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

[22] Stehle, *op. cit.,* p. 563.

[23] *DGFP,* C, I, Nos. 347 and 362, 624 and 652; Otto Meissner, *Staatssekretär unter Ebert-Hindenburg-Hitler* (Hamburg, 1950), p. 308.

[24] The official German and Italian texts of the concordat are published in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* XXV, 389-413. The official German text is printed in *Reichsgesetzblatt* (1933), II, 679-690. For conflicts over details in the last stages of the negotiations, cf. *DGFP,* C, I, Nos. 333, 347, 348, 349, 351, 362, and 371.

In view of the many misunderstandings which followed, it is unfortunate that the wording of the concordat had not been clearer. However, even when there appeared little chance for two interpretations, disagreements were frequent. Among the more commonly disputed points were Article IV, which guaranteed the freedom of the pope and the bishops to communicate with the faithful and to publish without hindrance pastoral letters, official diocesan bulletins, etc.; Article XXIII, which guaranteed the rights of the Church to existing Catholic denominational schools and to the establishment of new ones; and Article XXXI, which proved the greatest immediate problem of all. Under this last article, those Catholic organizations and societies which pursued exclusively charitable, cultural, or religious ends would be protected in their institutions and activities. Those associations which served also social and vocational ends were protected provided their activity lay "outside all political parties." Which organizations and associations this article covered was to be settled by an agreement between the Reich government and the German episcopate.

Although the signing of the concordat brought about the immediate removal of difficulties of recent origin, such as the occupation of certain Catholic association headquarters by local Nazi authorities, other points of conflict were quickly evident. On July 25 the government promulgated a sterilization law which was in sharp opposition to the teachings of the Church. In August the propaganda attacks against the Catholic associations were suddenly renewed, and vehement attacks began here and there against the Catholic schools and press. The German hierarchy sought an immediate ratification of the concordat, with the hope that such a step might truly protect the Church's position.[25] Also the German government informed the Holy See that only after the ratification would it proceed with all the weight of its authority against those who were opposed to the concordat and especially to Article XXXI.[26] With this in mind, the Holy See accepted the idea of a September ratification, but it reminded the German government that while the concordat excluded priests from party politics, it also guaranteed the Church the right to teach and to defend publicly Catholic principles. Moreover, the Holy See called attention to improper restrictions and pressures enforced against the Catholic associations and the Catholic press and demanded public assurances regarding the Reich's willingness to begin negotiations dealing with all points of conflict on the concordat's interpretation and application.[27] For its part, the government protested its good faith and simultaneously with the ratification of the concordat on September 10 gave the assurances the Holy See had requested.[28] Negotiations were set to begin in Rome the following month and Buttmann was designated as the German representative.

---

[25] Letter of Cardinal Bertram to Cardinal Pacelli of September 2, 1933, in Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-23.

Dr. Buttmann arrived in Rome in late October, but his conversations with Cardinal Pacelli proved both short-lived and remarkably unsuccessful, and negotiations were not formally resumed until the following April.[29] Perhaps, the matter of the youth associations was the greatest stumbling block of all. The Church was irrevocably opposed to abandoning its religious influence over the youth organizations, while this ecclesiastical influence was exactly what the Hitler Youth movement was determined to exclude. In the next month, in a speech at Dresden, Baldur von Schirach, the Hitler Youth leader, declared that the Nazi Party would destroy the Catholic organizations.[30]

The year 1933 closed on an unhappy note, as the Austrian hierarchy, in their collective Christmas pastoral letter, condemned the new German racialism and exaggerated nationalism, and recorded the condemnations of National Socialism made earlier by the German bishops. The German government protested to the Holy See, alleging collusion between the Austrian and the German episcopates and a violation of Article XXXII of the concordat.[31] The *Völkischer Beobachter,*[32] the official party daily, called this pastoral letter "an open attempt at sabotage against inner peace in Germany." An ominous note for the Catholic Church was the incorporation of the Evangelical youth movement into the Hitler Youth.

---

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 23, and Conrad, *op. cit.*, p. 70; cf. also *DGFP*, C, II, No. 17, 24-25.

[27] *DGFP*, C, I, Nos. 418 enclosure, 419, 422, and 425; Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

[28] For the declaration of the government given on the occasion of the ratification, cf. *Völkischer Beobachter*, September 12, 1933, and *DGFP*, C, I, No. 422, 789.

[29] *DGFP*, C, I, No. 501, and II, Nos. 3, 6, 17, 98, 121, 133, 134, 135, 136, 152; Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-38; and Conrad, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-81, 87-90, 105-109; Deuerlein, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137.

[30] Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

The difficulties of 1933 were surpassed by the greater complexity of difficulties in 1934. From the Church's point of view, the chief problems lay in the increase of neo-pagan propaganda and the relation of the Catholic youth to the Hitler Youth. Although both the Holy See and the German bishops had made abundantly clear their attitudes toward official support of the Rosenberg "myth," on January 24 Rosenberg was appointed director of the Nazi *Weltanschauung,* to supervise the entire educational activity of the movement along intellectual, religious, and philosophical lines. This was a serious blow to those who had hoped that the political and social aims of National Socialism might be kept distinct from the ideology created by its more radical adherents.

The reaction of the Church was swift. Charles Cardinal Schulte, Archbishop of Cologne, called on Hitler, asked and received assurances that Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20th Century* was still no more than an unofficial treatise, and that the National Socialist government had only the friendliest intentions toward the Catholic Church.[33] A more significant step was taken on February 9, when the *Myth* was placed on the Index of Forbidden Books, and the "other Bible" of National Socialism, second only to *Mein Kampf,* was prohibited to all Catholics.

It was natural that the Church should be alarmed, for if there was any true hope of a peaceful coexistence of Church and State in Germany, it rested upon a curbing of the growing attacks on orthodox Christianity presented by the Nazi extremists. If the *Myth* was a "monument of pseudo-scholarship, full of absurdities, misstatements, and bizarre theories,"[34] its official backing meant immeasurable grief for the German Catholics. It not only denied that Christ was Jewish, but it also denied His divinity, and substituted for, or equated with, God the eternal race-soul. Not only was Christianity to be delivered from its Jewish elements, but it was to be interpreted in the light of the race-soul. A national church, essentially without Christianity as well as without confessional barriers, was the desideratum, and the struggle for racial supremacy was to be a kind of *summum bonum*. The consequences of an official adoption of such a thesis were terrifying. However aggressive *Mein Kampf* had revealed the future German foreign policy to be, Hitler's work gave no such indication of revolution in the field of religion.

---

[31] *DGFP,* C, II, No. 177, 339-344.

[32] December 28, 1933.

[33] Corsten, *op. cit.,* pp. 19, 347.

[34] Nathaniel Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church* (London, 1939), pp. 15-16.

Throughout the first months of 1934, the Holy See continued to object to the propaganda and pressures enforced against the Catholic associations, and special exception was taken to the statements of von Schirach, head of the Hitler Youth, that all confessional youth associations were to be ended. The Holy See also charged that Rosenberg's *Myth* was in fact an open declaration of war on revealed religion, and that despite the declarations that it had a strictly private character, it was continually recommended by the *Völkischer Beobachter* as fundamental for the political and religious foundation of the new Germany.[35] The government countered with charges that the mentality of the Center Party carried over into ecclesiastical surroundings and thus impeded the collaboration necessary for the application of the concordat. It also asserted that political Catholicism systematically misused the Catholic associations, and consequently made an agreement concerning them most difficult.[36] It was in such an atmosphere of resentment and suspicion that the negotiations for the application of the concordat were formally resumed on April 9.

The April discussions were concerned primarily with the question of youth associations. Buttmann, still the principal German negotiator, sought an agreement whereby Catholic youth would be incorporated into the Hitler Youth, and, in return, the German government would provide special religious assistance within the Nazi organizations to the Catholic youth. However, the Holy See was all too conscious of the anti-Christian influence of the Hitler Youth and of the fact that its leader, von Schirach, was a disciple of Rosenberg's. Therefore, Cardinal Pacelli resolutely pointed to the guarantees of Article XXXI of the concordat. Buttmann then informed the Holy See that he had been instructed to obtain acceptance for the elimination of all activities not strictly religious for the Catholic youth. He put forth the argument, which was to be developed further and used many times by German officials in their negotiations with the Church, that this was a time of revolution and transition in Germany. The concordat had been concluded when the subsequent development of the Nazi State could not be foreseen in its full extent. It was now only a matter of time, Buttmann insisted, until all non-religious youth activities would be a monopoly of the Hitler Youth. Every other activity was considered at least in part political and, therefore, not permissible outside the Nazi Party.[37]

---

[35] Cf., e.g., the Holy See's Note of January 31, 1934, printed in part in Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-46.

[36] *DGFP*, C, II, Nos. 177, 232, and 265; Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-49. Buttmann journeyed to Rome for exploratory conversations in February, but there were recriminations on both sides and little was accomplished. Cf. Conrad, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-108, and Deuerlein, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

Having little success in winning concessions at the Vatican, whether in October or April, Buttmann, as other German negotiators were to do in the future, sought to by-pass the Holy See and proposed that negotiations be continued in Germany, through the German hierarchy. Cardinal Pacelli accepted the proposal, but he then wrote to Cardinal Bertram, admonishing the bishops that while negotiations should be conducted in a conciliatory manner, the Holy See could not consent to concessions any greater than had been offered in Rome.[38]

On the last day of April, the government's disposition to solve the matter of the associations unilaterally was rather forcefully evidenced. Dr. Robert Ley, leader of the German Labor Front, issued a decree prohibiting simultaneous membership in a confessional vocational association and the Labor Front. Since membership in the latter was almost an economic necessity, the regulation was a severe blow to Catholic workers' associations. Both the Holy See and the German bishops lodged protests,[39] pointing out that the decree specifically violated an agreement reached during Buttmann's visit to the Vatican the preceding October. However, the decree was not rescinded. On

---

[37] Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-57; Conrad, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-113; Deuerlein, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-153; *DGFP*, C, II, Nos. 272, 370, 406, and 463; *DBFP*, Second Series, VI, No. 405, 652-653.

[38] Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 58, and *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Reich* (London, 1940), pp. 180-189.

May 14, the Holy See sent a long note[40] to the government, covering not only the matter of the application of the concordat, but also presenting documented charges against the religious policy of the Nazis. It asserted that Catholics well understood that the anti-religious activities of certain Nazi circles were developed with the approval or the tacit consent of the new State authority, and went on to cite examples of attacks by party officials on the Catholic religion, the clergy, even on the person of the pope.

The Holy See was especially offended by the vicious, slanderous press campaign against the Catholic associations, and it pointed out that the government's claim of popular hostility toward Catholic associations was actually a confusion of cause and effect. In fact, the note declared, perhaps somewhat ominously, the Holy See ought to put together a book to describe minutely the *via crucis* of the Catholic organizations in the past months. The same note complained of other violations of the concordat, including the suppression of declarations of the pope and of the German episcopate. Nonetheless, it closed on a note of hope, that an agreement might still be reached between the Reich and the Holy See. Before negotiations on the application of the concordat were resumed in June, the Fulda conference of German bishops convened, and the annual collective pastoral letter was prepared. However, although it was distributed to the clergy, its presentation to the laity was withheld, pending the outcome of negotiations. The letter,[41] dated June 7, complained against the increase of neo-pagan propaganda and the restrictions on the efforts of the Catholic press to combat it, and warned the faithful against a Rome-free national church. It also spoke up again regarding the necessity of maintaining the Catholic associations. On the other hand, it strongly affirmed the loyalty of the hierarchy to Germany and to the government, arguing that in condemning the neo-pagan movement it was merely fulfilling the obligations of that loyalty. The Gestapo decided to take no chances and began measures to prevent the letter's distribution.[42]

The Fulda conference also chose the episcopal representatives for the discussions with the government, nominating Archbishop Conrad Gröber of Freiburg and Bishop Wilhelm Berning of Osnabrück, two of the most conciliatory prelates toward the new regime, and Bishop Nicholas Bares of Berlin. Buttmann remained a leading negotiator for the government, but the meetings were held under the chairmanship of Dr. Wilhelm Frick, Reich Minister of the Interior, and both von Schirach and Ley participated on the side of the government because of their especial interest in the matter of the associations. During the course of the negotiations, which began on June 24, Hitler himself received the episcopal representatives and promised that energetic measures would be taken by the government against the spread of neo-pagan propaganda.[43] The episcopal negotiators continually worked for a *rapprochement* with the government during the discussions. Apparently the direct promises of Hitler also added to their tendency toward compromise and conciliation, and an agreement was initialed on June 29 at the particular expense of the Catholic vocational associations. An announcement was made the following day that a solution had been found to the disagreements arising from both Articles XXXI and XXXII of the concordat.[44] However, the day of the announcement proved to be the day that the notorious "blood purge" began, in which hundreds of opponents of the regime were liquidated. Several prominent Catholic leaders were assassinated, including Dr. Erich Klausener, head of Catholic Action in Germany. Moreover, the Gestapo confiscated the remaining copies of the still-unread Fulda pastoral letter, and the government forbade its publication.[45] If these events were not enough to destroy the fruits of the negotiations, the Holy See refused to accept the terms of the initialed agreement, as the bishops should have expected from the warnings of Cardinal Pacelli.

---

[40] Printed in a long excerpt in Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-69.

[41] Printed in Corsten, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-34.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 27, and Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-34.

It was clear to the Holy See, if not to the representatives of the German bishops, that the Reich government sought to wipe away important provisions of the concordat without even offering any secure guarantees for those provisions which it professed to maintain. Moreover, the Holy See was more than ever convinced of the necessity of its Catholic associations as a defense against the alarming and increasing neo-pagan propaganda emanating from party circles. Apparently Hitler, despite his own private anti-clericalism and highly unorthodox religious beliefs, was politically embarrassed by the vehemently anti-Christian forces in the party and really desirous of effecting a temporary *modus vivendi* with the Church.[46] After all, the Saar plebiscite was scheduled for the following January, and Catholicism was the religion of nearly three-fourths of the Saarlanders. But if he desired peace with the Church at this time, other Nazi leaders, including Goebbels, Ley, Schirach, Bormann, and even the more conservative Goering, to say nothing of local *Gauleiters,* continually exerted pressure to make war on the Church. Even in a one-party State, policy depends not only upon authority from above, but upon pressure from below.

---

[43] *Osservatore Romano*, September 30, 1934.

[44] *DGFP*, C, III, No. 50; Conrad, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-117, 128-130, 143; Deuerlein, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-161.

[45] Waldemar Gurian, *Hitler and the Christians*, translated by E. F. Peeler (New York, 1936), p. 144.

In two speeches in August, and in a third in September, Hitler made special reference to the religious question, employing a conciliatory tone. He maintained that he desired no interference with the Church's doctrine or freedom, but rather the protection of both. However, he warned that he could not permit religion to be used for political ends.[47] As pregnant as such a warning might be, Hitler did not drop the over-all friendly approach, and he expressed confidence that a satisfactory solution would be reached. However, despite the Führer's optimistic forecast, little success was achieved in renewed negotiations for the application of the concordat. Conversations were resumed in September, 1934, but the same problems remained and were now in a more aggravated form. The Holy See desired to divest the vocational associations of any remaining political interests and to transform them into sections of Catholic Action instead of accepting their dissolution as had been provided in the June agreement. The Holy See wanted a more comprehensive and specific agreement regarding the youth associations, leaving fewer aspects of youth activity pending for additional negotiations. In fact, Rome showed clearly that it did not trust the type of guarantee offered by the government. It specifically requested that the prohibition with regard to membership in two associations, such as the Labor Front and a Catholic professional association, be revoked not through agreements between the German episcopate and the individual State organizations, but by the government and with its responsibility. The Holy See also requested a final clause, as a result of which, when the comprehensive agreement should go into effect, all pre-existing conditions and norms in contradiction with it, whether of the State, the party, or official organizations, should lose their validity.[48]

---

[46] *DGFP,* C, III, Nos. 91 and 147.

[47] *Völkischer Beobachter,* August 18 and 28, and September 8, 1934.

It was all too apparent that the gulf between the Holy See and the Nazi government was wider than ever. However, in case the German bishops still did not understand the facts of the case, Pius XI sent a warning to the Bishop of Osnabrück lest the hierarchy should concede too much " 'to a people who would deny all and retract all that had been granted in the Concordat.' "[49] When the September conversations revealed that neither promises nor threats could again detach the episcopate from the Vatican, the government requested in October that negotiations be resumed again in Rome. However, Cardinal Pacelli declined to receive a German representative until some concrete basis for agreement had been worked out in advance.[50] Although informal conversations in Berlin between Buttmann and the nuncio lasted into January, no such basis for agreement was found.

Still, if negotiations on the concordat proved exasperatingly sterile, the last half of 1934 was obviously less tense. A major cause of this fact was the approaching Saar plebiscite, scheduled for January, 1935, and the government's interest in securing the votes of the predominantly Catholic population of that area. The Catholics in the Saar were actively wooed by the Nazis, and difficulties between the Church and the new Reich were soft-pedaled in all of Germany. The project was quite successful, and, although the Vatican maintained a technically neutral attitude throughout, it did not restrict the right and liberty of the German bishops and priests to the point where they could not make their preferences known. On November 16 the Bishops of Trier and Speyer, whose dioceses still embraced all the Saar Catholics, issued a declaration insisting upon the moral duty of love for the German nation and loyalty to the Fatherland. In January all the German bishops ordered public prayers on the occasion of the plebiscite and made allusions in favor of a return to Germany.[51] However, if the relative lull in the struggle in the latter part of 1934 had reassured the nationalist-minded bishops that there was no real threat of party assaults against the Church and that a policy of cooperation was the best method of securing the rights of the Church against the party extremists, they were to be quickly disabused by the events early in 1935, particularly the attacks against the confessional schools and the religious orders.

---

[48] *DGFP,* C, III, Nos. 195, 212, 215, and 216.

[49] Maccarrone, *op. cit.,* p. 74.

[50] *DGFP,* C, III, Nos. 338, 361, and 394; Maccarrone, *op. cit.,* pp. 75-79; Deuerlein, *op. cit.,* pp. 162-163.

[51] *DGFP,* D, I, No. 663; Charles-Roux, *op. cit.,* pp. 100-103; *Osservatore Romano,* January 7/8, 1935; Sarah Wambaugh, *The Saar Plebiscite* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 206-209, 288-289.

The year 1935 began with a hardening of the German position in its relations with the Vatican. In January the negotiations between Buttmann and Cesare Orsenigo, the Apostolic Nuncio to Germany, on the application of the concordat not only collapsed, but the nuncio, and Bishop Berning as a representative of the German episcopate, were informed that Hitler would agree to no concessions beyond those approved by the Reich in the agreement of June 29, 1934. Moreover, despite the repeated urgings of the nuncio, and the request of his own foreign minister, Hitler refused to issue a declaration against neo-paganism in Germany.[52] The stiffening of the German attitude is traceable, at least in part, to the fact that there was no longer any need for the good will of the Church in the Saar elections. This new attitude also permitted the launching of an intensive campaign against the confessional schools in Bavaria.

At the time that the Nazis came into power in Germany there were two types of State schools, the confessional or denominational school and the non-denominational school. In the former, the children and teachers belonged to one confession, and education in such schools was in accord with the moral and religious principles of that particular confession. In the latter, religious instruction was given by Catholic and Protestant clergy according to the affiliation of the students. By 1935 Nazi propaganda aimed at the destruction of the denominational schools and the transformation of all State schools into so-called 'community' schools, where, it was argued, the divisive element inherent in confessions would be overcome. The party asserted that religious instruction would still be given in the new community schools, but the Church feared that once the denominational schools had disappeared, such instruction would actually become indoctrination in National Socialist ideology.

The rights of the Catholic schools were protected by both the Bavarian concordat (the provisions of the concordats with the individual states remained in force according to the terms of the Reich concordat) and the concordat with the Reich. However, the Weimar

---

[52] *DGFP,* C, III, Nos. 361, 459, 470, and 475.

Constitution provided that the confessional schools would be maintained only as long as the parents preferred the confessional school over the non-denominational school. The Nazis seized upon this to wage a relentless campaign to force the parents to vote in favor of the community schools. It was a kind of preliminary trial of strength between the party and the Church in this matter that was inaugurated in Bavaria in January, 1935.

The Bavarian school officials took very partisan positions against the Catholic schools in meetings and pamphlets, while meetings of the Catholic parents' associations were prohibited, and letters of the clergy instructing on the question were confiscated by the Gestapo. In other words, the opponents of the confessional schools had official protection to work against indisputable provisions of the concordat. Although the Holy See lodged vigorous protests with the government, it received no satisfaction.[53] The results of the campaign in Munich brought about the conversion of twenty-five Catholic elementary schools into community schools, and the party considered the results so successful that it was decided to extend the campaign to other localities. It might be well to emphasize here that the Nazi plan of attack against the Church was to avoid the appearance of an attack. This strategy was never changed fundamentally, even after the publication of the papal encyclical on the persecution of the German Church which was released in March, 1937.

The constant Nazi claim that there was no persecution of the Church in Germany, and not even a *Kulturkampf,* was somewhat susceptible of belief in Goebbels' Germany, where truth was often difficult to discover. The Church's positions were not all attacked at once, but step by step after the most careful and painstaking preparation of public opinion. The restrictions on the Catholic associations and the interference with the Catholic schools, e.g., were carried out locally and sporadically. It is conceivable that the Catholics of one German province were relatively unfamiliar with the trials of their coreligionists of another province. In this way even the most radical measures were put into effect. Recourse was had to petty subterfuges, and trifling mitigations were offered to mollify the public and cloud the situation. Measures would be ascribed to the mistake of a subordinate, a few exemptions would be granted, and even a show would be made of withdrawing noxious regulations temporarily. And, interwoven with all this, was the repeated declaration that there was no intention whatsoever of instituting a persecution of the Church.[54]

---

[53] Cf. the notes of the Holy See of February 11, 1935, and January 5, 1936, in Johann Neuhäusler, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz* (Munich, 1946), II, 216-217; Maccarrone, *op. cit.,* pp. 82-86. On Nazi efforts to prevent the opposition of Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich and Freising, cf. Reports from the Files of the Bavarian Political Police, Document 1507-PS, United States, Office of Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington), Supplement A, pp. 389-400.

The preliminary attack on the confessional schools was soon followed by another, more vicious assault. Whoever controlled the youth of Germany controlled the future of Germany, and neither the party nor the Church was willing to give an unnecessary inch here. However, the party had the advantage of a complete lack of scruple, plus control over the German press. Both were to be employed to undermine the Catholic system of education by discrediting the religious orders. At least as early as the fall of 1934[55] the party had been planning an attack on the orders, and early in 1935 a pattern was disclosed in the numerous arrests for violation of the foreign currency laws. The trials began in the criminal courts, an unusual procedure for the cases involved, amidst a very noisy and lurid propaganda. The religious were depicted as enemies of the State and as a menace to the German community. The party press was particularly slanderous in its attacks, and it was but a short step to pass from a campaign of defamation of the clergy to a campaign of deconfessionalization of the schools. The timing of the trials was spread judiciously for maximum propaganda effect. There is no doubt that some of the prosecuted were guilty of illegally exporting German currency, but the complexity of the foreign currency regulations also makes it difficult to prove that the majority did not act in good faith. At any rate, there was no relation whatsoever between the crimes alleged and the propaganda employed.[56]

In a note of May 14, 1935,[57] the Holy See protested vigorously against the German press's handling of the trials, especially since the

---

[54] *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich,* p. vii.

[55] Cf. the directives of party offices printed in Neuhäusler, *op. cit.,* I, 123-125.

[56] For a discussion of the complexity of the currency regulations, cf. Edith Roper and Clara Leiser, *Skeleton of Justice* (New York, 1948); for the position of the accused religious, cf. also Micklem, *op. cit.,* pp. 295-297.

[57] It is printed in Neuhäusler, *op. cit.,* II, 251-255.

Catholic press in Germany was effectively hamstrung in its efforts to counter the distortion of the facts. The Holy See resented the accusation that it had refused to take any steps in the matter when it had not even been notified regarding the charges. In addition, it condemned all who might be guilty and asked no special treatment for its religious. But it could not understand how the government, with its incessant demands for unity within the State, could allow such a hate campaign to dominate the German press and courts. The campaign reached such extremes that a public prosecutor had virtually assigned the butter shortage in Germany to the currency sins of the Catholic clergy. The Holy See took especial offense at the claims that the Church was seriously endangering the economic life of Germany in this important period of reconstruction. Moreover, the Vatican objected to the mistreatment of the accused while awaiting trial.

The confessional schools and the religious orders were not the only special targets of 1935. According to an order of the President of the Reich Press Bureau, Max Amann, issued on April 24, 1935, newspapers might not be " 'adapted to suit the preferences of a group of persons, determined or determinable by their denomination, calling or common interests.' "[58] The effect on the Catholic daily press and on all Church papers other than those devoted to strictly ecclesiastical matters was immediate and far-reaching. It constituted a major blow at Catholic influence on public opinion and in public life. The campaign against the Catholic press, begun in earnest at this time, was soon to bring about the actual suppression of sixty-three Catholic newspapers.[59]

The spring of 1935 was also significant for the efforts of the leaders of the German hierarchy to halt the rapid deterioration in German-Vatican relations. The German cardinals were greatly disturbed at the collapse of negotiations on the application of the concordat, but at the same time they were encouraged by Cardinal Pacelli to stand firm against the government regardless of accusations against their patriotism. In these circumstances they consulted together and decided to memorialize the Führer on the oppression of the German Church. Cardinal Schulte, more than the others, seems to have retained some confidence in Hitler's good faith and in his willingness to act against the party extremists. It was finally decided to have the letter sent from the entire German hierarchy, and it was given its final form in August at the annual Fulda conference.[60] By that time the situation between the Catholic Church and the Nazi Party had deteriorated much further. In June, 1935, Rosenberg brought out his *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit* to answer the Catholic critics of his *Myth,* and it too soon found a place on the Index. Three events during July added considerably more fuel to the ever-growing fires.

---

[58] Quoted in *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich*, p. 70.

[59] Pre-trial interrogation of Max Amann, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, Supplement B, pp. 1528-1529.

The first was a speech of Dr. Wilhelm Frick, Reich Minister of the Interior, on July 7. Frick criticized the Church for sabotaging the laws of the Reich and, in connection with the sterilization law, he boldly asserted that the Church must regard as binding upon its members all the laws of the State, ignoring completely their possible variance with divine law or the Catholic conscience. He also declared that neither the Catholic associations nor the Catholic press was compatible with the present times, when all divisive elements in Germany had to be eliminated. A few days later Frick delivered a further statement to the effect that the sterilization law had to be observed by all German Catholics under the terms of the concordat. In other words, the concordat compelled Catholic obedience to a law which contradicted Catholic doctrine. The *Osservatore Romano* immediately jumped to the defense of the Church's position, citing the pertinent provisions of the concordat. One article concluded with the sad recognition that the breaches of the concordat could no longer be blamed solely on the extremist and less responsible members of the Nazi Party.[61]

The second major event of July, 1935, was the edict of July 18, issued by the Prussian Minister-President and Head of the Secret State Police, Hermann Goering, against political Catholicism.[62] The edict was aimed at what Goering called the rise of the pulpit against the State and it ordered the Gestapo and other authorities to proceed with the greatest energy against the clerical adversaries. It not only anticipated a return to the "pulpit paragraph" of the first *Kulturkampf,* but called for vigilance against criticism of National Socialism in the religious education of the youth. The edict also declared that unless the Catholic youth associations ceased in their tendency to become political leagues, they would be eliminated. The attack was met quickly and tellingly by the *Osservatore Romano,* and articles which appeared on July 26 and August 4, discussing both the Frick address and the Goering edict, were ordered by the pope to be read from the pulpits of the Catholic churches in Germany.[63]

---

[60] Cf. an excerpt from a letter from Cardinal Pacelli to Cardinal Schulte, March 12, 1935, in *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich,* p. 4, and the letter from Cardinal Schulte to Cardinal Bertram, June 7, 1935, in Corsten, *op. cit.,* pp. 63-64.

[61] *Völkischer Beobachter,* July 7, July 8, July 9, 1935; *Osservatore Romano,* July 10, July 15/16, July 26, and August 4, 1935.

[62] For the edict, cf. *Völkischer Beobachter,* July 19, 1935.

Besides the defense made by the *Osservatore Romano,* the Holy See sent a long note on July 26 replying point by point to Goering's charge of political Catholicism.[64] The note expressed surprise that, given the basis of the concordat, the German government did not complain in the usual way about the alleged misuse of the clergy's spiritual ministry, but instead allowed its charges to be revealed in the edict of July 18, to which exceptional publicity had been given. Goering had said in his ordinance that the conclusion of the concordat had demonstrated the government's desire to live in peace with the Church. The Holy See countered that the application of the concordat was substantially impeded by interference on the part of official State and party organs. Goering claimed the government was the protector of the churches, but the Holy See said that although such an obligation had been assumed under the terms of the concordat, it had remained unfulfilled. Marxist attacks had been combated by the State for political motives, but other forms of disbelief which were provocatively hostile to the Church were encouraged and favored by the authorities. Indeed, while the anti-Christian circles became increasingly identified with the National Socialist program and ideology, the Church was prohibited from defending its own position. The concordat's guarantee of the right to teach and to explain Catholic doctrine was constantly being violated, and the surveillance of the spiritual ministry of the Church, in schools, in the associations, and even in the confessional, was being carried out in a spirit of increasing hostility. The Holy See again invited the government to hear the cry of alarm which German Catholics raised against the aggressive anti-Christianity of the party and of the State, and to prepare the way for a speedy application of the concordat. It warned that force would be a way fatal to Germany itself.

---

[63] Lord Clonmore, *Pope Pius XI and World Peace* (New York, 1938) p. 177.

[64] The note is printed in Maccarrone, *op. cit.,* pp. 105-107.

The third important event was the general police regulation of July 23, ordered by Frick, which virtually denied any public activity to the Catholic youth associations. According to the decree, all activity which was not of a purely ecclesiastical or religious nature, in particular, various sports activities, were forbidden. The associations were also prohibited from wearing any uniforms or any uniform-type insignia.[65] Such restrictions had already been instituted by various local authorities, but now they were extended to the entire Reich.

The Fulda episcopal conference, which met in August, gave testimony to the rising strength of the forces led by Cardinal Faulhaber, favoring a stronger stand against the Nazi regime, as opposed to the forces led by Cardinal Schulte, disturbed by the charges of lack of patriotism and favoring a more restrained attitude and further negotiations. The conference completed the drafting of two documents[66] on August 20, both of which may be considered as echoing the Vatican note of July 26. The first was a collective pastoral letter which called once again for the protection of the denominational schools and the Catholic associations, and charged that the allegation of political Catholicism was used as an excuse for imprisonment, banishment, and defamatory treatment of both clergy and laity. The second was a special memorandum to the Führer which summarized the Church's grievances. The bishops sought to avoid any incidents which might be open to the damning charge of political Catholicism by instructing the parish priests to read the contents of the pastoral letter without any comments which might aggravate the effect. Although the government permitted publication of the letter in official diocesan bulletins, it could not be distributed in pamphlets or any other similar form or be mentioned in the German newspapers.

Hitler's response came shortly afterward in his Nuremberg speech. He reiterated the charge of political Catholicism and denied the accusation that an anti-Christian struggle was being waged from National Socialist circles.[67] The summer cycle of Nazi accusation, Vatican denial and counter-accusation, and Nazi denial and re-accusation had been completed. Especially significant for the future, perhaps, was the fact that on the very day of Hitler's defiant reply to the Church, the foundation stone of the Nazi headquarters was laid, and a metal casket, hermetically sealed, was placed in the cement of the foundation. It contained two books, *Mein Kampf* and *The Myth of the 20th Century*.[68] The party radicals thus received sanction rather than the hand of restraint.

---

[65] Cf. the teletype letter from Frick to the provincial governments, July 20, 1935, Documents 1482-PS, *Trial of the Major War Criminals,* XXVII, 255-256, and *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich,* p. 89.

[66] The text of the pastoral letter is given in *Osservatore Romano,* September 22, 1935; the text of the memorandum is printed in Neuhäusler, *op. cit.,* II, 73-94.

[67] *Völkischer Beobachter,* September 12, 1935.

In the fall of 1935, there was a slight relaxation of tension, but the the struggle continued, nevertheless. The attack on the confessional schools was extended from Bavaria to Württemberg and the Rhineland, and a new wave of propaganda, more intensive than any of the preceding, gained force in Bavaria as the time for the next school enrollment (February 2, 1936) approached. Moreover, the propaganda connected with the foreign currency trials continued apace. In November and December a newly-created Reich Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs reactivated conversations with representatives of the German episcopate on the application of the concordat. The conversations also covered the problems arising from the ever-increasing neo-pagan propaganda and the allegations of political Catholicism. However, although Reich Minister Hans Kerrl evidenced a real desire to effect an agreement, the discussions were no more productive than when they had been undertaken by the Ministry of the Interior and its representative, Buttmann.[69] The end of 1935 was livened by Pope Pius XI's publicly connecting Germany with Russia and Mexico in the matter of persecution of the Church. As would be expected, there was a violent reaction in the German press. The *Osservatore Romano* replied that persecution was always persecution, whether Communist or National Socialist in form.[70]

The year 1936 brought new and heightened tensions. It began with a new note from the Holy See to the German government[71] charging once again that the campaign against the confessional schools violated Article XXIII of the concordat. The note repeated the arguments expressed almost a year previously,[72] stressing the fact that Catholic parents had not been permitted to assemble in Bavaria since January, 1935, while organizations hostile to the confessional schools continued to receive support from the State. Later in the same month the nuncio called on both the Reich Foreign Minister and the Reich Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs to discuss the school situation.[73] But he received only general protestations of good will, and in April and May the Holy See again dispatched notes to Berlin regarding the pressures illegally brought to bear on parents to send their children to the community schools.[74] Conversations which were resumed once more in January and February on the old question of the concordat's application and the Catholic youth associations were also hampered by the problem of the confessional schools, and were finally broken off by the Holy See when it felt that the Reich was no longer bargaining in good faith.[75]

---

[68] Robert d'Harcourt, *The German Catholics*. Translated by Reginald J. Dingle (London, 1939), p. 193.

[69] Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115; *DGFP*, D, I, No. 643, 947; United States, Department of State, *Foreign Relations* (Washington, 1935), II, 347.

[70] *Osservatore Romano*, December 16/17, and 23/24, 1935.

[71] This note, dated January 5, 1936, is printed in Neuhäusler, *op. cit.*, II, 217-220.

[72] Note of February 11, 1935, discussed above.

The Church was fighting a losing battle. In Munich the terrorism which preceded the February, 1936, school enrollment reversed the ratio from almost two to one in favor of the confessional school to almost two to one in favor of the community school. As a result, forty-four denominational schools were converted into community schools over the vigorous protests of the archdiocesan authorities. In April the Württemberg enrollment propaganda closely followed that of Munich, with results even more favorable to the community school.[76] And no protests of the Holy See or the diocesan authorities could affect the so-called "freely-expressed" desire of the German parents!

Also in January, 1936, the Holy See sent a long note to the German government,[77] strongly protesting against the continued propaganda attached to the still-proceeding currency trials and refuting once again the charges of political Catholicism levied against the priests in Germany. It may be recalled that the same points had been stressed in vain earlier, especially in the Vatican's notes of May 14 and July 26,

---

[73] Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Deuerlein, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-122. Excerpts of the notes of April 9 and May 31, 1936, are printed.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

[76] For this propaganda campaign and its results, cf. *Osservatore Romano*, September 6, 1936; cf. also the instructions to Nazi Party groups in Munich, February 1936, reprinted in Neuhäusler, *op. cit.*, I, 89-94; and the report of the American ambassador in Berlin to the American Secretary of State, *Foreign Relations, 1936*, II, 163.

[77] Excerpts appear in Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98 and 110-112.

1935. This note of January 29, 1936, went on to point out that every diocese, conceivably every parish, had complaints to register with the government authorities in the existing religious situation. Priests had been imprisoned for defending Catholic doctrine, the Catholic press had been severely restricted, and pastoral letters had been confiscated and their publication prohibited—and this was over and above the most troublesome problems of the schools and youth associations. All this, and yet the government continued to speak of the free activity of the bishops and of the entire clergy.

It was small wonder that the Holy See broke off the concordat negotiations in February because it doubted the good will of the Reich government. Nevertheless, the Vatican made still another effort in April to initiate negotiations which might bring about a real application of the concordat and a *modus vivendi* with the government. A meeting between the three German cardinals and the Führer was suggested, but Hitler professed to be too busy with the great powers of Europe (the Rhineland had been remilitarized in March in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Versailles), and the proposal was dropped.[78]

However great the Church's problems in Germany may have been at this time, they were unexpectedly complicated by a new and most ugly Nazi attack. In May, 1936, there were instituted the notorious morality trials against the members of the religious orders in Germany, trials which were accompanied by incredibly disgusting propaganda. The foreign currency trials were not producing the required effect; something more drastic was apparently needed. Hitler had once written that inside the Church there was greater good in proportion to bad than anywhere else in the world; and he also had maintained that "it would be unjust to make religion as such or even the Church responsible for the mistakes of various individuals."[79] But on another occasion he boasted that if the Church should oppose him, he would reduce the clergy to objects of contempt in the sight of the people by showing how they drained money out of the country and how they engaged in sins of the flesh. This latter course might be especially necessary if the question of control of the German youth arose.[80]

---

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[79] *Mein Kampf*, edited by John Chamberlain, Sidney B. Fay, *et. al.* (New York, 1939), p. 149.

[80] Hermann Rauschning, *The Voice of Destruction* (New York, 1940), pp. 52-53.

The morality trials were notorious not only for the extensive and lurid propaganda which the German press was compelled to give them, but for the fact that most of the charges were monstrously and grotesquely invented without any foundation in fact.[81] Of the charges which were based on fact, many referred to offenses long since committed and already punished by the Church. The publicity given to any particular charge or group of charges was not related to the time of the scandal, but to the propaganda needs of the authorities at a given moment. The trials were taken up and dropped with equal facility. Thus they slackened off after the first month because of the Berlin Olympics in the summer of 1936, and reached peak heights following the papal encyclical of March, 1937.

On May 30 Cardinal Pacelli presented an *aide-mémoire*[82] to the German ambassador protesting against the propaganda connected with the morality trials. The note argued that such propaganda was not only injurious to the innocent members of the religious orders, but the luridness of detail was harmful to the social and moral climate of the nation. The Holy See was aghast at the type of publicity given such matters, and the German government was reminded that when similar offenses were discovered in party circles, the affair was hushed up immediately. A response was received on June 8, but it denied that the protests in the Holy See's *aide-mémoire* had any basis in fact and expressed shock at the offensive insinuations in the note. It unblushingly maintained that the press reports were the usual kind associated with criminal trials of interest to the public. And it quickly rejected the allegation regarding the party.[83]

There was a brief relaxation of tension in all the areas of the religious struggle at the time of the Olympic Games in July and August. The Führer was eager that only the best aspects of the new Germany should command the attention of the foreign visitors and the representatives of the foreign press. He undoubtedly was conscious of the growing concern outside Germany with the religious situation within the country, e.g., von Papen, now his representative in Vienna, continually warned that the tension with the Catholic

---

[81] For an inside view of the trials and the propaganda connected with them. cf. Roper and Leiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-114. Cf. also Neuhäusler, *op. cit.*, I, 133-144, and *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich*, pp. 298-325

[82] Printed in Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

[83] The note is printed, *ibid.*, p. 135.

Church seriously hindered German objectives in Austria and lost her friends elsewhere.[84]

In July, 1936, civil war broke out in Spain, and an opportunity was presented to German bishops to seek an understanding with the government in a spirit of mutual hostility to international Communism. There can be no doubt that the Nazi propaganda campaign, especially in connection with the currency and morality trials, had weakened the Church's position in Germany and encouraged some of the bishops to redouble their efforts for a *modus vivendi*. The annual Fulda conference, held in August, again prepared a memorandum to be sent to the Führer in addition to the collective pastoral letter.[85] The bishops declared their willingness to support Hitler in his war against Communism, even though they noted that he had never answered their memorandum of 1935. They argued that the urgent necessity of a common defense, spiritual and material, against the Marxist virus made religious peace in Germany more desirable than ever. They deplored the "religious bitterness" of recent years and "the heavy and growing anxiety for spiritual and moral education of the youth." They asked the government to call a halt to the attacks on the Catholic associations, schools, and press, and to return to the provisions of the concordat. However, the appeal of the bishops fell on deaf ears. In fact, copies of the Fulda pastoral itself were confiscated by the Gestapo as soon as it had been read in the churches.[86] Moreover, when the International Congress of the Catholic Press met at Rome in September, no German representative was allowed to attend.[87]

By the late summer of 1936 there was so little expectation in the Vatican that a *modus vivendi* might be reached with Berlin that Cardinal Pacelli completed the preparation of three white books on relations with the Nazi regime. These books were intended for publication if the government should openly attempt to abrogate essential parts of the concordat.[88] Pacelli also assisted the pope in these same months in the preparation of the encyclical, *Mit brennender*

---

[84] Papen, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-402; cf. also Document 2248-PS, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, XXX, 57; and *DGFP*, D, I, No. 161.

[85] The text of the letter, which speaks of the memorandum, is printed in *Osservatore Romano*, August 31/September 1, 1936.

[86] *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich*, p. 61.

[87] *Osservatore Romano*, September 29, 1936.

[88] Selections from these white books have been printed in Neuhäusler, *op. cit.*, and in Maccarrone, *op. cit.*

Sorge, which was to cause such a storm in government circles upon its release in March, 1937.

The belief at the Vatican that the Nazi regime was unwilling to stop its assaults on the Church was justified by the events of the fall of 1936. Even if the currency and morality trials against the religious remained suspended, the party hardly accepted the hand of co-operation recently proffered by the hierarchy. New blows against Catholic education, and against the concordat, were struck, including the suppression of confessional normal schools, and obstructions to the teaching of religion in the non-denominational schools.[89] Propaganda against the confessional schools continued, while a joint Fulda pastoral on the subject was prohibited from publication.[90] In October a new government ordinance provided specifically for the confiscation of pastoral letters which attacked State policy, the Nazi movement, its leaders, institutions, or norms.[91] By the end of 1936 the German episcopate had to give up, for the most part, attempts at printing and circulating their letters and be content to have them read.

Also in the fall of 1936, leaders of the German episcopate sought to improve the situation by securing the direct intervention of the Führer. Although Hitler had turned down the proposal of meeting with the German cardinals in March, he received Cardinal Faulhaber and Cardinal Schulte jointly in November and spoke of effecting an agreement with the Church.[92] However, as before, these verbal assurances were contradicted by governmental actions. On the first day of December a new Reich youth law was promulgated, striking a serious blow at the Church. It provided for the incorporation of all German youth into the Hitler Youth movement, so that they might be educated "physically, intellectually, and morally in the spirit of National Socialism."[93] The future of the German Catholic youth was darker than ever.

In the years 1933 to 1936 relations between the German government and the Catholic Church steadily deteriorated. Although there were sometimes intermissions in the struggle, such as the period in

---

[89] Maccarrone, *op. cit.,* pp. 123-127.

[90] The pastoral, read on September 20, is printed in Corsten, *op. cit.,* pp. 142-146.

[91] Maccarrone, *op. cit.,* pp. 140-141.

[92] *Ibid.,* p. 142.

[93] *Reichsgesetzblatt* (1936), I, 993.

1934 preceding the Saar plebiscite, they were suddenly followed by an increase in tension. The attacks on the Catholic associations, schools, and press, while generally local and sporadic, never ceased and never showed very hopeful signs of being halted. The charges of political Catholicism could be raised at any given moment in the nationalist-impregnated atmosphere to weaken the protests of the Church. The constant neo-pagan propaganda, aided and abetted by important party groups, augured ill for the future of the Church in Nazi Germany. The propaganda employed in the foreign currency and morality trials showed what the Church might expect to result from courageous opposition.

If the protests of the German hierarchy were coolly ignored, how effective were the appeals of the Holy See? Between September 5, 1933, and July 26, 1936, the Vatican sent thirty-four notes to the Berlin government, five *pro memoriae*, three *aide-mémoires,* six letters containing proposals and outlines for discussion, and six other letters, in all covering some 336 pages. It is no wonder that Cardinal Pacelli remarked that Germany made more work for him than the rest of the world combined![94] Yet the failure of such efforts was all too apparent. Somehow greater pressure had to be applied and the German faithful brought to a full awareness of the Church's plight.

By the beginning of 1937 it was quite apparent that the conflict between the Nazis and the Church had become one of ideas rather than of expediencies and practical politics. The totalitarian claims of National Socialism upon the German citizen were absolutely incompatible with any limitations imposed by ecclesiastical law or by any international treaty with a religious association. In the new Germany, State, party, and people were to be merged into a perfect unity. Therefore, the internationally and racially undiscriminating Catholic Church had either to disappear or be "co-ordinated" and brought under the control of the State as represented by the party. Any religion which led to a questioning of the Nazi *Weltanschauung* in respect of idea or practice was considered to be intrinsically political and beyond the bounds of toleration.

Notwithstanding this situation, the year opened with another urgent appeal from the German bishops to accept its support in the anti-Communist struggle and to restore religious peace in Germany.

---

[94] Neuhäusler, *op. cit.,* II, 27.

The hierarchy again stressed that it was prepared to recognize what was "good and great in the work of the Führer," but also that it was determined "not to sacrifice one iota of our faith."[95] If the co-operation of the Church was refused now, would it be so sincerely offered again? Ten days after the reading of this pastoral letter, the episcopate addressed a joint letter to the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, enumerating in detail the violations of the concordat on the part of the government and also calling attention to the increasing attacks on the agreement itself. The bishops deplored the fact that this freely-negotiated treaty should be compared with the *Diktat* of Versailles and denounced as completely outdated by the course of events in Germany.[96]

As might have been expected, the hierarchy's appeal in its public pastoral and in its letter to the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs once again fell on unsympathetic ears. While no outstanding event marked the opening months of 1937, the war of attrition against the Church's position continued. A new propaganda campaign against the confessional schools was unleashed in Bavaria, and it surpassed any of the preceding attempts both in magnitude and results. Shortly afterward a similar campaign was launched in the Dioceses of Trier, Speyer, and Hildesheim.[97] Also, despite the guarantees of the concordat and the protests of the Holy See, the assaults against Catholic religious instruction in the non-denominational schools increased in intensity.[98] Meanwhile the alleged moral scandals of the clergy continued to be exploited in the Nazi press, even though the government had not resumed the trials.[99]

---

[95] The pastoral letter read on January 3, 1937, is printed in Corsten, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-162.

[96] The letter of January 13, 1937, may be found in Neuhäusler, *op. cit.*, II, 94-98.

[97] *Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich*, pp. 145-155; *Osservatore Romano*, February 6 and 17, and April 11, 1937; Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, p. 126. For an American appraisal of the pressure used to obtain the correct vote, cf. William E. Dodd, *Ambassador Dodd's Diary, 1933-1938*, edited by William E. Dodd, Jr. and Martha Dodd (New York, 1941), pp. 398-399.

[98] Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

[99] Cf. the letter of Conrad Preysing, Bishop of Berlin, to Goebbels, February 6, 1937, in Berlin, Bischöfliches Ordinariat (Ed.), *Dokumente aus dem Kampf der Katholischen Kirche im Bistum Berlin gegen den Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1946), pp. 7-12.

A revealing response to the bishops' newly extended hand of co-operation was received in February, when the government submitted to the Holy See a long list of official acts of the hierarchy, citing them as examples of attempts to destroy the State by subjecting its measures and ordinances to public criticism. Among the examples were the reprinting of the *Osservatore Romano's* articles of the summer of 1935 in diocesan bulletins (called declarations of a political-ecclesiastical character), the Fulda pastoral letter of August 20, 1935 (veiled and open criticism of the measures taken against political Catholicism and of other State ordinances), and pastorals dealing with such questions as confessional schools, youth associations, and press reports of clergy trials. The government charged that the bishops had broken their solemn oaths of loyalty to the Reich, and had created a situation that the government could no longer tolerate.[100]

At the end of January five members of the German episcopate, including the three cardinals, were called to Rome to consult with the pope on the situation of the German Church. Although the Church struggle still varied considerably from diocese to diocese, depending upon such factors as the attitude of the local *Gauleiter* and Gestapo chiefs, the personality of the ruling bishop, and the numerical strength and public role of the Church in a particular area, the general course was the same. Since the princes of the Church could paint only a very dark picture for Pius XI, the Holy Father was more than ever convinced that a drastic step had to be taken.[101]

It was in this period of tension and expectancy—the period when a last episcopal offer of collaboration was ostentatiously refused because it was conditioned by a return to the provisions of the concordat—that Pope Pius XI dramatically issued his encyclical on the persecution of the Church in Germany. Although the encyclical had been prepared the preceding summer in close co-operation with Cardinal Pacelli, its release had been withheld in the faint hope that a diplomatic action might still make such an extreme step unnecessary. But even those prelates, like Cardinal Schulte, who had hopefully sought to make a sharp distinction between the allegedly conservative tendencies of Naziism represented by Hitler himself and the radical, anti-Christian variety represented by Rosenberg, could hardly make a case for conciliation any longer. The unproductive conversation between Hitler and the German cardinals in the preceding November, the rejection of the hierarchy's offer of co-operation at the beginning of 1937, the discussions with the episcopal representatives in Rome, as well as the complete lack of success of the nuncio in Berlin in receiving a redress of the Church's grievances, convinced Pope Pius XI that the diplomatic approach, patiently tried for almost four years, had to be supported by a more forceful action. Moreover, it was absolutely necessary that all German Catholics should know the true state of affairs. Thus, on March 21, 1937, the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* was read from the pulpits of all the Catholic churches in Germany.

---

[100] An excerpt from the German note of February 17, 1937, is printed in Maccarrone, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142.

[101] The pope referred to these conversations in *Mit brennender Sorge*.

Canisius College

HISTORY AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LUBLIN

By

James J. Zatko*

The Catholic University of Lublin (Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, known as KUL) in Poland was founded in 1918. Marshal Joseph Pilsudski gave the Catholics of Poland the one-time Dominican priory that since the Partition days had served as a military barracks for the Austrians and then for the Russians. The university is located amid scenes reminiscent of the Union of Lublin (1569) and in the eastern territories of the 1918-1939 Republic of Poland. Within its limits Lublin had a renowned rabbinical school, now gone, as well as the Bobolanum, a Jesuit house of studies, which was to serve as a center of Catholic influence radiating toward the Russian frontiers, beyond which many Catholics had been caught by the border settlement of 1921. Moreover, the Dominican church in the Old Town possesses the world's largest relic of the True Cross, lodged in the Firlej chapel, which is one of the finest monuments of Polish Renaissance architecture. Memories and monuments of Poland's great past surround the university; hence, that it developed a distinguished school of history should be no surprise.

During World War II the Catholic University of Lublin shared the fate of all the universities of Poland; but after the war it was the first to open, in spite of the difficult post-war conditions. This striking contribution to Polish education has not won for it any gratitude or relief from the Communist regime. The law faculty was suppressed; obstructive tactics hindered the expansion program of the university; financial pressures have rendered the institution's burdens greater. Extremely difficult times were experienced when the Pax faction in Poland tried to bring the university into the Pax fold. Only the extremely skilful maneuvres of the university administration managed to prevent this. More disastrous has been the Catholic University of Lublin's exclusion from an exchange program sponsored by the governments of the United States and Poland. This deprives the university of significant contacts with American universities; such contacts are important in present-day Poland for education as well as for morale.

---

* Father Zatko is assistant professor of history in the University of Notre Dame.

The present group of historians at the university has given particular form and feature to its school of history. Perhaps, the most distinguished historian is the Reverend Mieczyslaw Żywczyński, who holds the chair of church history in the faculty of theology.[1] The work that made Professor Żywczyński's reputation is *Geneza i nastepstwa Encykliki Cum Primum*. This work, based upon archival research in Rome and in European capitals as well as research on conditions in the Papal States, is a fundamental study of the origins and consequences of Gregory XVI's *Cum primum*. According to Professor Żywczyński, the conditions in the Papal States go far to explain how such a document could have been issued.

Alexander Kossowski, professor of modern European history, has published excellent studies dealing particularly with sixteenth and seventeenth-century Polish history. He is just completing, or has completed, a history of Lublin in the period known in Polish history as the Deluge (1648-1666).[2]

With the millennium of the Christianization of Poland imminent (1966), interest in the origins of the Polish state is very high. Dr. Zygmunt Sulowski is particularly interested in this difficult problem.[3]

---

[1] Mieczylaw Żywczyński, *Geneza i następstwa Encykliki Cum Primum Z 9. VI. 1832 r.* [The Origin and Consequences of the Encyclical *Cum Primum*] (Warsaw, 1935); with Krystyna Niklewiczówna, *Bartolome de las Casas: Krotka Relacja o Wynyszczeniu Indian* [Bartolome de las Casas: A Short Relation about the Destruction of the Indians] (Warsaw, 1956), in which Żywczyński wrote the introduction and the commentary; *Kościol i Rewolucja Francuska* [The Church and the French Revolution] (Warsaw, 1951); "Stanowisko Ludwika Pastora w historiografii papiestwa" [The Position of Louis Pastor in the Historiography of the Papacy], *Życie i Myśl* (1955), Nr. 2/3, pp. 26-59. This very brief list merely illustrates the literary activity of Professor Żywczyński.

[2] Alexander Kossowski, "Lublin w latach Potopu" [Lublin in the Time of the 'Deluge'], *Roczniki Humanistyczne,* VI (1958), 223-257; "Klasztor Bazylianow w Zamościu" [The Basilian Monastery in Zamosc], *Roczniki Humanistyczne,* IV (1957), 199-216.

[3] Zygmunt Sulowski, "Najstarsza granica zachodnia Polski" [The Oldest Western Border of Poland], *Przeglad Zachodni* (1952), Nr. 2/3, pp. 356-357, pp. 439-440; "Geografia Dokumentu 'Dagome Iudex'" [The Geography of the Document Dagome Iudex], *Slavia Antiqua,* IV (1953), 232-251.

His study of the geography of that renowned document of early Polish history, *Dagome iudex,* deals, too, with the question of Poland's capital in the time of Mieszko, the prince responsible for the Christianization of Poland. According to Sulowski, Poznan was the capital.[4]

The mediaeval history program is under the direction of Dr. Jerzy Kloczowski, whose special interest is the religious orders in Poland during the Middle Ages. His valuable monograph on the Polish Dominicans in Silesia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries investigates the subject in a most comprehensive manner: sources, the history of the Polish province, the economic life of the priories, religious activity, etc.[5]

This incomplete description of the published works of the historians of the Catholic University of Lublin may serve to illustrate the academic and literary activity of the faculty; needless to say, it intends in no way to belittle the fine work being done by others who have not been mentioned.

Although the prestige of a university rises and falls with its faculty, it is the research carried on in the seminars that exemplifies the tendencies and interests of the school and stamps its character. Professor Żywczyński's seminars in the years 1955 and 1956 concentrated on the historiography of the French Revolution.[6] During the years 1956-1957 Professor Kossowski's seminars investigated problems of modern European and Polish history; but the themes which best show the preoccupations of Professor Kossowski dealt with Polish seventeenth-century source material, the Polish nineteenth and twentieth-century historiography of the Reformation in Poland, the Treaty of Torun (1466), and the Treaty of Cracow (1526).[7]

---

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 251.

[5] Jerzy Kloczowski, *Dominikanie Polscy na Ślasku w XIII-XIV wieku* [Polish Dominicans in Silesia in the XIII-XIVth Century] (Lublin, 1956); *id.,* "Reforma polskiej prowincji dominikanskiej w. XV-XVI w." [The Reform of the Polish Dominican Province in the XV-XVIth Century], *Roczniki Humanistyczne,* IV (1957), 45-92; *id.,* "Zarys historii rozwoju przestrzennego miasta Chelma" [An Outline of the History of the Development of the Spacious City of Chelm], *Roczniki Humanistyczne,* VI (1958), 193-222; *id.,* "Prace nad atlasem historycznym Kościola w Polsce" [A Historical Atlas of the Church in Poland], *Roczniki Humanistyczne,* VI (1958), 259-274.

[6] "Wykaz lepszych prac dyplomowych wykonanych na sekcji Historii w K. U. L. w latack 1954-1957," *Roczniki Humanistyczne,* VI (1958), 293.

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 291-293.

Dr. Zygmunt Sulowski's seminars for 1956 and 1957 carried out historical demographic studies of nine parishes (one of them Greek Catholic) in the Diocese of Lublin. These studies were based on parochial records, some of which go back to the seventeenth century. This work is undoubtedly preparatory for the atlas of Polish ecclesiastical history, a project in which the historians of the Catholic University of Lublin are engaged.[8] Related to this undertaking is the research directed by Dr. Kloczowski. One of the most interesting essays in the seminar of 1957 was a study of the clergy of the archdeanery of Lublin in the second half of the sixteenth century in the light of episcopal visitations.[9]

These seminar activities exemplify the themes and materials which are engaging the attention of the faculty and students in history at the Catholic University of Lublin. One of the unfortunate gaps in research is in United States history. The basic reason is not a lack of interest, but a lack of materials. The greatest defect in the university's library, perhaps, is its lack of materials on American history. Another striking gap in research is in Byzantine studies; this is the more unfortunate in that Byzantine studies are enjoying such a vogue in western academic circles.

The most ambitious undertaking of the Lublin historians is the historical atlas of the Church in Poland.[10] The interest in this subject arose from several factors. With the approaching millennium of the Christianization, a deeper study of the history of Polish religious life seemed imperative. Moreover, the awareness of the need for bringing sociological analysis to bear upon historical problems of religious life in Poland owes much to the stimulus of Gabriel Le Bras and his school.[11] However, the study of religious institutions and their impact upon the life of the people demanded geographical analysis; but this is nearly impossible without a historical atlas to depict the historical and geographical development of religious institutions.

---

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 289-290.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

[10] Kloczowski, "Prace nad atlasem," *Roczniki*, VI (1958), 259-273.

[11] A report on the work of Le Bras was published by Stefan Nowakowski, "Religia jako przedmiót badan socjologicznych" [Religion as the Subject of Sociological Research], *Kultura i Spoloczeństwo,* I (1957), 229-233.

The need for a general historical atlas for Polish history has been the subject of discussion and study for years;[12] but an ecclesiastical atlas would serve a specific objective. As envisioned by the historians at Lublin, it would not be restricted to the Catholic Church, but would try to portray the religious development of the whole Polish people.

The preparatory work for such an atlas, begun with very meager funds in 1956, is being carried on in the seminars of the university: studies of parishes, religious orders, schools, etc. These studies will serve as documentation for the atlas; and it is hoped that they will be published as part of a projected series to be called *Polonia Christiana.*

The kind of preparatory work necessary for such an atlas is suggested by the research done on the Diocese of Cracow, a see which once included several modern dioceses within its territorial limits. In accordance with a formal questionnaire (to be described later), the published records of the Peter's Pence, Jan Dlugosz's *Liber Beneficiorum* (fifteenth century), the archives of the chapter and consistory of Cracow (*Liber Retaxationum* from 1513, *Liber Retaxationum Beneficiorum* from 1529, and the *Liber Retaxationum* from 1561), the records of the visitation (1592-1599) conducted by George Cardinal Radziwill, the records of the visitation (1603-1604) conducted by Bishop Bernard Maciejowski were excerpted for pertinent information. In addition, the diplomatic documents and archives of the chapter in Cracow and in the episcopal archives in Lublin were investigated. Finally, the history of the Diocese of Cracow requires research in the diocesan archives of Tarnow, Lublin, and Siedlce as well as in parochial records.[13]

The atlas itself will deal primarily with the Roman Catholic Church and its institutions as they existed within the present boundaries of Poland and within Poland's historical borders. The basic units to be studied are the parishes and monasteries; other institutions that exist within the basic unit, e.g., societies, will be represented on maps devoted to the particular parish or monastery. Units above the parochial level, e.g., deaneries, archdeaneries, etc., will be dealt with separately. Each institution (of Catholic Latin and other rites, e.g., Slavonic rite and Armenian rite, as well as of other confessions) will be described in accordance with the following questionnaire.

---

[12] Stanislaw Herbst, "Prace nad Polskim atlasem Historycznym" [Work on a Polish Historical Atlas], *Kwartalnik Historyczny,* LX, 329-334.

[13] Kloczowski, "Prace," *Roczniki,* VI (1958), 265.

1) Time of establishment and the related questions of "who, when, and where."

2) Demise of the institution.

3) Title of the institution with the names of associated institutions as well as information on religious cult, e.g., relics, saints, and pictures.

4) Church buildings associated with the institution under study, including such properties as schools, hospitals, etc.

5) Economic basis of the institution.

6) The political and ecclesiastical administrative dependence of the institution.

7) Patronage.

8) The personnel of the institution.

9) The socio-religious function of the institution.

10) Other information not specified above, but considered useful for the atlas or for historical study.[14]

Connected with the vast extent of this project was the problem of setting chronological limits. The decision has been taken to cover the period from the fifteenth century to the First Partition of Poland in 1772. This span of time was broken down into three periods:

1) The fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, during which the parochial system was stabilized and the religious life can be studied before the changes introduced by the Reformation.

2) The sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, during which the religious changes due to the Reformation and the impact of the Counter Reformation can be studied.

3) The eighteenth century to the First Partition, whose religious history can be investigated in the records of the visitations of the time.[15]

The importance of this historical atlas is quite obvious; but the undertaking itself demonstrates the scholarly ambition and creative imagination of the historians at the Catholic University of Lublin.

This report should serve to suggest certain features which are characteristic of the Lublin school of history. So far as method is concerned, it emphasizes archival research, a fundamental in the training of historians, and the use of the methods introduced into the study of church history by Le Bras. A second feature is its preoccupation with historiography, the work done in the seminars of Professors Żywczyński and Kossowski. A distinct note in this interest in historiography is its close relationship to the problems of church history. A final characteristic is the stress upon social and economic phenomena affecting religion and the Church. The writings of Professor Żywczyński are examples of this attitude. The projected atlas is, perhaps, the culmination of all these tendencies.

---

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 265-268.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 268-270.

That the historians at the Catholic University of Lublin are doing significant work should be clear from this brief survey; it is to be hoped that they will be able to work in their selected areas, in spite of the obstacles which are placed in their way, either by their enemies or by their friends.

University of Notre Dame

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH

The Papal Princes. A History of the Sacred College of Cardinals. By Glenn D. Kittler. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1960. Pp. 369. $4.95.)

A good, popular history of the Sacred College of Cardinals would undoubtedly be both useful and timely, but *The Papal Princes* is far from filling the need. Even though the author admits that "this book is an attempt to touch on the high points" only, he seems unaware that it became bogged down in the low lands of irrelevance of contents, inconsistency of plan, and sensationalism of treatment.

In the first quarter of the book cardinals receive no more attention than they would in any general history of the papacy during the first twelve centuries of the Church. The papacy itself is viewed without historical perspective as if it functioned in patristic times as it did in the later Middle Ages. The "Church" is often spoken of when the Roman See is meant, and the "Patrimony of St. Peter" is applied indiscriminately to any territorial possessions of the popes. In fact, the first three chapters are a hotchpotch of unconnected facts lacking either logical or chronological order and having little or no relation to the supposed subject of the book. From the eighth century onward the sequence of events is respected, but the choice of them remains arbitrary. The method for handling the twelfth and thirteenth, and again the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is to describe each conclave and the succeeding pontificate with particular stress on scandalous details; thus the cardinals are studied only in their role of papal electors and are given much less prominence than the popes. After Urban VIII, however, the plan is changed again: the rest of the book consists mainly of a haphazard series of biographical sketches of famous (or infamous) cardinals.

Even within this questionable framework defects are countless. Proper names are misspelled: "Constantinius" for Constantius (p. 23), "Virgilius" for Vigilius (pp. 41 ff.), "Pozzio" for Poggio (p. 175), "Schwarzend" for Schwarzert (Melanchthon) (p. 241), and "Zalenti" for *Zelanti* (p. 305 and in the index). In many instances the diction is deplorable: "The Church was up for grabs" (p. 54), and Leo IX had "the chore of cleaning up the mess" (p. 65). Peter del Murrone is said to have "looked like a bit of a boob" (p. 151), and Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini is called "a bit of a shyster" (p. 184). Even more damaging are the factual errors in which the book abounds. It is stated, e.g., that until the reign of Damasus I "the Scriptures existed only in Greek and Aramaic" (p. 31), as if the Vetus Latina had not existed previously. Later it is asserted that "the dozen popes who reigned in the century following the 769 decree had all been cardinals—deacon, priest or bishop" (p. 51); actually, none of them had been a bishop before being elected pope. Paul II, furthermore, did not initiate "the custom of pre-Lenten carnivals in Rome" (p. 197), nor did Julius II commission Fra Angelico "to paint in the Vatican" (p. 223), the good friar having died almost fifty years before the pope's election. It is not true that "about three hundred people who opposed Henry [VIII]'s religious leadership were beheaded" (p. 251), even if one counts the 216 persons put to death in 1537 in reprisal for the Pilgrimage of Grace. It is likewise incorrect to say that there was no Catholic seminary in England in the first part of the nineteenth century and that "any young man aspiring to the priesthood had to go to Rome and study at the English College and Gregorian University founded by Pope Gregory XV" (p. 321); the seminaries at Old Hall, Ushaw, Valladolid, and Lisbon were open too; and the Gregorian University was named after Gregory XIII, its second founder. Moreover, it is a pure legend that "Father John Carroll . . . presented a statement to the delegates at Philadelphia defining the rights of Catholics, and it was directly from this act that the assembly adopted the sixth article of the Constitution" (p. 330). Lastly, the efficacy of Gibbons and the other two cardinals' intervention in the international dispute over the Venezuelan boundary is exaggerated, and Eugenio Pacelli is wrongly credited with the preparation of the Code of Canon Law and the negotiation of the Lateran Pact (pp. 350 ff.).

The author does not hesitate to summarize any doctrine, theory, institution, custom or movement whatsoever, be it the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, the monarchical episcopate, Gnosticism, Arianism, Monophysitism, clerical celibacy, feudalism, lay investiture, the Gregorian Reform, Ockhamism, humanism (against which he is especially prejudiced), the Inquisition, indulgences, the suppression of the Jesuits, the Syllabus of Errors, the attitude of the French hierarchy toward papal infallibility, trusteeism in the United States, or Americanism. The summary, unfortunately, is invariably a vague, inaccurate, or erroneous over-simplification. The bibliography is a heterogeneous collection of a few serious and many unreliable works among which one would seek in vain for Stephan Kuttner's basic article published in *Traditio* in 1945 (III, 129-214)—to say nothing of the monographs in foreign languages.

Due, and sometimes undue, emphasis is accorded to Nicholas of Cusa, Charles Borromeo, and Lavigerie, as well as to Richelieu (but not

Mazarin) and Bernis. But are the long and trite stories of Luther and Henry VIII justified by the brief references to the parts played by Cardinals Cajetan, Campeggio, and Wolsey in these affairs? In the account of the relations between Napoleon and Pius VII not only are the facts hopelessly confused, but not one of the cardinals involved is mentioned. In short, one may form an adequate opinion of this history of the Sacred College from the fact that none of the following names appears in its pages: Humbert of Silva Candida, St. Bonaventure, Albornoz, Peter d'Ailly, Cesarini, Isidore of Kiev, Capranica, Ximenes de Cisneros, Contarini, Sadoleto, Allen, Baronius, St. Robert Bellarmine, de Bérulle, Fesch, Consalvi, Mai, Antonelli, Franzelin, Mercier, Merry del Val, Gasparri, Billot, and Stepinac. Because of these omissions the reader is left with the general impression that the Sacred College up to the French Revolution was on the whole a scheming, grasping lot of lecherous and unscrupulous politicians who did more harm than good to the papacy and the Church. Though this is not the author's thesis, he does prove one point, viz., that popularizations should be attempted only by, or at least under the guidance of, professional historians.

ROBERT TRISCO

The Catholic University of America

Heirs of the Roman Empire. By Richard E. Sullivan. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 178. $1.75.)

This book is one of the Cornell series on European civilization. According to the established format of the series, it is designed to constitute undergraduate reading matter for one week. The initial objection one might have would be with the over-all plan of the series and the distribution of material within it. However, once you accept the fact that such large chunks of material are to be wolfed down each week by the student, it is pleasant to know that a book like Professor Sullivan's is at hand to reduce the likelihood of acute indigestion. This work is an admirable synthesis of a large mass of material.

Professor Sullivan covers the period from the sixth to the tenth century and develops his theme, as the title suggests, around the notion that the Roman Empire disappeared and was replaced by not one but three civilizations. With clarity and perception he follows the fragmentation of the Roman Empire which led to the formation of the Byzantine, the Islamic, and the western European civilizations. With considerable skill he deals with these three areas, their interrelationships, and their conflicts. This is precisely the sort of thing that the undergraduate needs if he is to broaden his horizons and achieve some sense of history. The first section takes the story to 750; the second carries the narrative to 850, and the final section reaches the beginning of the tenth century.

There are only a few things with which one would care to quarrel. By a curious slip, Benedict of Aniane becomes Bernard of Aniane (pp. 76-77). Whether one would call him a "puritanical Benedictine monk" is a matter of opinion. Certainly the reforms which he introduced into monastic life were calculated to remove abuses which had crept in. It might be argued that some of his regulations were a departure from the original conceptions of St. Benedict, but this would not make him a puritan. Likewise, it should be emphasized that one of the "appealing qualities of the Moslem religion" (p. 94) which led to conversions was the fact that it removed the convert from the status of second-class citizen which he held as a non-Moslem. Although it is proper to point out that "the Abbasids represented themselves as religious leaders charged by God to renew the regime of righteousness instituted by Mohammed" (p. 90), nevertheless, there should be some reference to the rationalism and skepticism which characterized some of the besotted Abbasid caliphs. Presumably, scholars will continue to argue about the events surrounding the coronation of Charlemagne. Professor Sullivan does not accept the version of Einhard which claims that Charlemagne resented the coronation. However, he does think that "it is quite likely (that) he did not want it (the imperial crown) at the time and under the circumstances in which he actually received it" (p. 75). Maybe this is so; the reasons which he suggests are rather cogent, but they do not seem to account for the statement in the Annals of Lorsch which claims that Charlemagne gave his consent. He may have had other preferences, but it seems that he did agree to the proceedings as they were carried out.

However, these are minor matters. The important thing is that Professor Sullivan has provided students with a fine survey which will open up to them the essentials of a rather difficult period of history.

GERALD J. CAMPBELL

Loyola College
Baltimore

The Greek East and the Latin West. A Study in the Christian Tradition. By Philip Sherrard. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 202. $4.00.)

In seven chapters Mr. Sherrard reviews the whole history of Christianity, through the Middle Ages and on up to modern times in Greece and in the West. It is a daring attempt, and one which will cause many historians to frown; the more so as the author pays little attention to the historical development, explaining all major differences between the eastern and western churches *sub specie aeternitatis,* by means of metaphysical and theological speculations. These differences are said to have been caused by the antagonism between Platonism and Aristotelianism. The Christian East has preserved Christ's doctrine intact because of her preference for Platonism. It was Palamas who gave a systematic shape to the teachings of the eastern fathers. In the West, the Church insisted too much on the identity and being in God—St. Augustine is mostly blamed for this—and adopted Aristotelianism, thus explaining her different teachings on the Trinity *(filioque),* the Church, and the primacy. Further evolution led to "the revolution in the intellectual life of the West which, seen in its most general terms, consists in replacing the value of the Christian tradition by those of a purely rational outlook" (p. 60). Even modern Greece has lost some of her Platonic and Byzantine purity of thought as the result of her scholars being subject to western influence.

I doubt if many readers will be convinced by Mr. Sherrard's arguments. His explanation of the origin of the *filioque* will provoke the protests of both eastern and western theologians. Regrettably he has completely neglected the historical background of this controversy. When relating the Roman teaching on papal primacy to that of western theology, he sounds original enough, but Mr. Sherrard has failed to prove his argument, because it cannot be demonstrated. Many of his philosophical and theological argumentations, particularly his discussion of the third faculty of man, which, besides body and soul, is the "spiritual principle, in him, and the uncreated cause of his created nature" (pp. 139-140), will cause many theologians and philosophers to shake their heads. Several of his observations on mediaeval philosophy are, however, interesting.

The author makes it difficult for the reader to follow his argumentations, as he gives insufficient references to the texts he quotes. There is also a lack of quotations from the many excellent works dealing with the problems he discusses, and this absence may create the impression in the minds of his readers that he is not familiar with the competent literature. It is possible that Mr. Sherrard is a deep philosopher, but he is not a good historian. His treatment of the relations between the *sacerdotium* and the *imperium* shows many weaknesses. He has not given much study to the history of the councils, and his description of their role (pp. 54-55) is inadequate. The assimilation of ecclesiastical organization to that of the civil was not sanctioned in 381 for the first time (p. 81) but earlier, at the Council of Nicaea in 325. It was not Pius II but Julius II who started building the new church of St. Peter. The author's idea of applying philosophical and theological speculation to the explanation of the major differences between East and West is sound and original, but the historical background of the controversies must not be neglected. Although Mr. Sherrard did not succeed in this attempt, his book is stimulating.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

Constantine and Religious Liberty. By Hermann Doerries. Translated by Roland H. Bainton (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 141. $4.00.)

These are the Terry Lectures given at Yale University in 1958 by the professor of church history in the University of Göttingen. The author, a distinguished student of the life and times of Constantine the Great, and especially the relations between Church and State during this century of transition, maintains the high traditions of the Terry Foundation: "loyalty to the truth, lead where it will, and devotion to human welfare." Moreover, for all the quality and quantity of Constantine literature, especially since the brilliant monograph of Norman Baynes *(Constantine the Great and the Christian Church,* 1929), Professor Doerries' essay is a contribution in interpretation.

The burden of the exposition is that Constantine experienced for a moment his "hour of history" (p. 64), an insight into the true nature of religious liberty, which is most aptly expressed by Tertullian's "nec religionis est cogere religionem." The key passage is in the emperor's edict to the provinces issued after Chrysopolis: "aliud est enim certamen pro immortalitate sponte suscipere, aliud suppliciorum vi adigere." In this condemnation of the use of force by the public power to secure religious conformity, the important phrase is "pro immortalitate." The State should not, because the State cannot, force an individual to save his immortal soul. The idea, that the end of man's earthly existence is eternal life, was novel in antiquity and became revolutionary when entertained by a Roman emperor. By embracing it, Constantine rejected, or at least obscured, the traditional Roman concept that the maintenance of the right cult was a public responsibility undertaken by the State for the sake of the public welfare, and that the neglect of the official cult was a *crimen publicum* which brought injury to the commonwealth. It was on these grounds, i.e., for acts or omissions that were sacrilegious, that the early Christians were apprehended and punished by the Roman magistrates.

Unfortunately, the idea that the purpose of religion is personal salvation, and not the preservation of the commonwealth, can lead in opposite directions. It can lead, as it has done in modern times, to the secular State, which is indifferent to religion (as distinguished from ethics) precisely because it considers the individual's pursuit of eternal salvation outside its competence. On the other hand, it could lead (as it did with Constantine within a year in his *Constitutio adversus Haereticos* after Nicaea, and as it was to do with Theodosius and the mediaeval Church) to the principle that the public authority was responsible, not only for a public cult which requires external observance, but also for the individual salvation of its subjects which requires internal consent. To be sure, the State cannot force an individual to save his soul, but it can and should restrain individuals from acting publicly in such a way as to endanger the eternal salvation of their brethren. Indeed, there is no escaping the conclusion that, if the State is responsible for the eternal salvation of its members, even if only to the point of guarding them from error and scandal, it is obliged to take public measures to encourage truth and to restrain error.

Finally, it might be observed that the contemporary secular State has rejected both the ancient Roman concept that it enjoys a special dispensation of divine providence and, therefore, is required to maintain a public cult, and also the mediaeval Christian idea that the State is the *ancilla ecclesiae,* and as such responsible for the individual salvation of its members. The modern State is truly tolerant precisely because it is completely secular, both with regard to its own salvation and that of its members. So far as the State is concerned, God is dead. The author may well question the propriety of St. Augustine's application of the parable of the reluctant guests (*Luke,* xiv) to justify the use of public power for purposes of religious coercion. But surely the meaning of the injunction "compelle intrare" (in Greek, ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν) is far removed from "a friendly invitation" (p. 59). Not only does the phrase have a clear and present meaning, but the context supports the obvious interpretation. The master first tries a friendly invitation; then he asks his servant to bring them in gently ("introduc"); finally, exasperated, he orders his servant "to leave them no choice but to come in" (Ronald Knox's translation).

William F. McDonald

The Ohio State University

Colum's Other Island. The Irish at Lindisfarne. By Gareth W. Dunleavy. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1960. Pp. x, 149. $4.50.)

Mr. Dunleavy, who is an associate professor of English in his university, has chosen a fascinating subject for his study, and his style of presentation makes one suspect that he is a most stimulating teacher. Colum's other island is the Northumbrian island of Lindisfarne—Holy Island, as it is still called locally by men and women who are proud of their island's tradition. Those who have had the good fortune to visit the island will remember how much of its ancient glamor survives, though all trace of the former Celtic monastery has long since disappeared and the visitor must be content with the stones and broken pieces of sculpture to be seen in the small island museum. Something of the same glamor, so far as the writer's craft is concerned, was experienced by those who were privileged recently to see exhibited together for the first time in Burlington House, London, the Book of Kells and the Gospels of Lindisfarne. For this small island, to which Irish monks came from Iona in the early seventh century, was to become a meeting place of two cultures from which such treasures as these two famous manuscripts survive; one Irish, the other Northumbrian. And the fusion was often so complete that, e.g., insular script can be distinguished as Irish or Anglo-Saxon only by scholars trained in the techniques of palaeography. Quite recently Professor E. A. Lowe of Princeton has published from the Oxford University Press a noble volume on 'English Uncial' which makes visible in reproduction the characteristic script of this insular culture.

The pity is that Mr. Dunleavy, having chosen so fine a subject, has too often distracted the reader by literary allusions that are curiously irrelevant, and by an uncritical use of the sources from which sound knowledge can be had, both in the history of art and of literature. To take one example more or less at random, his use of church dedications in Britain and in Ireland as evidence of contemporary influences takes little heed of the fact that these dedications may easily belong to widely different ages; and that some of them may well be dedications to two distinct saints with the same name. Again the somewhat schematic map of England and Ireland which is, very rightly, printed as a frontispiece to the first chapter of this book is startlingly inaccurate so far as Irish places are concerned; and this general impression of an almost reckless inaccuracy occurs also in the printed text of many chapters.

Yet the student who takes the trouble to examine the lengthy notes to each chapter which are printed at the end of the book will see that Mr. Dunleavy has been at pains to read widely and keep the whole range of insular culture, not excluding Viking influences, well in view. There is in this book a quality of sheer enthusiasm and of a sense of the romantic in ancient art and literature which may well excite the young student to further study of his own. Certainly if it helps its readers to fresh interest in a surprisingly vital period of English and Irish history, it will have served its purpose well. The illustrations are, unfortunately, few and confined to somewhat dull specimens of insular script and fragments of stone sculpture. But the cost of really adequate illustrations is now prohibitive; and we can only hope that those who enter into this romantic world under the exciting spell of Mr. Dunleavy's narrative will pass from these short chapters to a study of such works of high art as the Gospels of

Lindisfarne or the High Crosses or the development of insular script to be found in Professor Lowe's splendid volume.

AUBREY GWYNN

University College
Dublin

Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis. Edited by Carl Selmer. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1960. Pp. li, 132. $4.75.)

St. Brendan of Clonfert has a place in history as one of the great Irish monastic founders of the sixth century. It is known that he came from Kerry. His monastery at Clonfert, near the Shannon in south Galway, flourished for centuries. When it lost its monastic character it became the see of the bishopric and as such retained a distinction which it has not lost even in our own day. The richly carved mediaeval doorway of its church ranks with the finest examples of Romanesque architecture in the country.

Irish abbots were not given to travelling abroad, but there were some notable exceptions. We know from Adamnan that St. Brendan visited St. Colmcille in the island of Hinba, off the west coast of Scotland, near Iona, and there witnessed a miracle during the celebration of Mass. The voyage by boat from Clonfert to Hinba would cover 1,000 miles if made through the Irish Sea, and at least 700 miles if made along the Atlantic coast of Ireland, from the mouth of the Shannon toward the north. In either case the feat of seamanship would be considerable. It is obvious, therefore, that St. Brendan was a capable navigator. Some Irish writer, who was well aware of this, composed a *Navigatio Sancti Brendani,* which was one of the most popular literary works of the mediaeval world. The bibliography dealing with this *Navigatio* is already enormous. Surprisingly, however, there has not appeared as yet a critically perfect edition of the original text. It is true that the preparation of such an edition is far from easy. The manuscripts, to begin with, number 120 and are scattered through many lands. This new edition by Carl Selmer marks a long step forward toward the final work. He makes use of eighteen manuscripts from France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, the Vatican, Britain, and the United States, the earliest of which dates from the tenth century, which is thus the latest date for the composition of the story. In Irish literature the *Navigatio* belongs to the class called *immrama,* 'voyages,' a genre that goes back to the druids. St. Brendan's object, however, was not to discover the pagan *Tir Tairngire,* 'Land of Promise,' but the Christian 'Land of Promise of the Saints.' This edition—introduction, text, notes—is scholarship of a very high order and worthy to take its place beside the very best *Brendaniana.*

JOHN RYAN

University College
Dublin

The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy. The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century. By S. J. P. van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker. (Westminster: Newman Press; London: Darton, Longman & Todd. 1960. Pp. xxxi, 586. $10.50.)

This book, by the authors of *The Myth of the Aumbry* (London, 1957), explores thoroughly the adoption, use, and development of the Roman rite, in the form proper to the papal court, by the Franciscan Order in the period from 1213 to 1263. Perhaps, the sub-title may seem more satisfactory than the title. *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* may suggest to the present-day reader more substantial development and more profound inventions of rites than those recorded in this volume. Nevertheless, as the authors' excellent treatment makes evident, the course of western worship was determined in those years.

This volume is a model of exacting research, study, and evaluation. The body of the text has three parts: Part I is a survey of the western liturgy before Innocent III, based upon the liturgical books for the divine office and the Mass and with emphasis upon the differing liturgies of the Lateran basilica and Lateran palace. Part II deals with the rite of the papal court during the pontificates of Innocent III and Honorius III. Part III, the principal section of the study, traces the Franciscan use of the papal court liturgy both in the liturgical books distributed about 1230 and in the later correction by Haymo of Faversham, the fourth Minister General of the Franciscan Order, in 1243-1244.

In Part III the authors explain the need of revision and emendation in the liturgy first accepted by the friars: "The liturgy 'according to the use of the papal court' had to be tested . . . Its lack of clarity, precision, universality, system and synthesis had to be corrected by a friar who understood this Roman tradition as well as the needs of his confrères from north of the Alps. This was friar Haymo of Faversham." Then Haymo's work is examined, beginning with the order for Mass entitled *Indutus Planeta* (1243) which instituted a tradition still maintained in the Roman missal. After a brief study of the Franciscan liturgical books published after Haymo's death in 1244, the final chapter describes, among other things, the acceptance of the papal court liturgy by the dioceses of central Italy and elsewhere, as well as by the new religious orders, and the acceptance of Haymo's revision. This entire history is based upon examination of manuscripts. The authors are not hesitant to acknowledge matters in which they have corrected their views in the course of untangling the complex details of the preparation, copying, and diffusion of the liturgical books of the thirteenth century. While some might prefer that the account be given in the form of rigid argument and thus in a more arid style, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* is literate and urbane without sacrifice of exactitude.

The volume has many plates to illustrate the liturgical books which were studied and several diagrams to show the relationships among the documents. The four extensive indices are preceded by a lengthy appendix of documents, representing the examination of about thirty sources. The authors conclude by comparing the thirteenth-century liturgical reforms to the present situation in which liturgical restoration is based equally upon pastoral concern and the renewal of legitimate traditions only understood through studies like this volume. In the hands of the Friars Minor, the liturgy of the papal court, refined and revised, became the official worship of the West. Only "the Western Schism, the sword between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, prevented it from becoming the liturgy of the faithful. This again is another story in which the official prayer of the clergy became a closed book to the laity. But if Christendom and public worship are again social problems in the West, the lesson of the thirteenth century is as topical now as it was then."

FREDERICK R. MCMANUS

The Catholic University of America

Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1527). By Paolo Prodi. Volume I. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1959. Pp. 232. L.3,000).

The sixteenth century saw a steady flow of treatises dealing with the pastoral duties of bishops, but it was the primitive Church, in pointed contrast to the contemporary corruption, that furnished the examples. By the end of the century, however, the ideal pastor of souls was no longer merely theoretically delineated; he could be seen incarnate in the zealous prelates imbued with the spirit of the Tridentine reform. Among them must be included Gabriele Paleotti, the Cardinal Archbishop of Bologna, who, in close contact with St. Charles Borromeo, labored to implement the decrees of Trent. The author of the present book records that when in the course of his studies he first encountered the figure of Paleotti, he was convinced that he had run up against one of the greatest churchmen of the second half of the sixteenth century. Further investigation, he asserts, has only served to confirm that view. His book is the first of a two-volume biography, the first complete study of Paleotti and his work.

Patient research in several archives, particularly in Bologna, has provided the author with a wealth of original source material which he has employed to advantage. In addition, an extensive bibliography assures the reader that he has to do with a well-documented and scholarly work, although it is unfortunate that it contains no index. The present volume traces Paleotti's career until his elevation to the cardinalate in 1565 and to the See of Bologna in the following year. The first part discusses his family background, his legal studies at the University of Bologna, and his term as professor of civil law there. Another chapter is devoted to his activities as a judge of the Roman Rota. All of this, however, is really preliminary to the more significant work of Paleotti's early life and, consequently, of this book. For on December 22, 1561, he arrived at Trent to play an important role as a canonist in the closing years of the council. Apart from his labor in the drafting of the conciliar decrees, he found himself advising the papal legates and trying to mediate between the curial officials and the reform party whose discord almost wrecked the council. New light is shed on these problems by previously unpublished material showing Paleotti's stand on a number of issues and his impatience at various efforts to soften the reform decrees. Everything considered, this work is a scholarly and well written account of the early career of Gabriele Paleotti, an important personage of the Catholic Reform, and one looks forward to the second volume.

GEORGE T. DENNIS

Loyola University of Los Angeles

The World and Men Around Luther. By Walter G. Tillsmann. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 1959. Pp. 384. $5.95.)

With the recent publications of William L. Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* and of the present work on Martin Luther, accent has again been placed on Germany during two of its best known revolutions, the one political, the other religious. In a way, despite the lapse of some 400 years both complement one another; and both contain a wealth of historical information.

To many the Reformation of the sixteenth century was Martin Luther. "The many important men who had been trained by humanism and were connected with the Reformation, either had to follow Luther or they disappeared behind him" (p. xiii). This quotation from a literary critic of the nineteenth century, William Scherer, gives the theme to Professor Tillsmann's book. Around Luther all the reformers viz., Zwingli, Calvin, and even John Wesley are centered in their opposition to the Catholic Church.

The book is divided into two parts: The World Around Luther (pp. 3-66); and The Men Around Luther (pp. 69-305). The first part is a survey of the times of Luther; the second, a handy and concise biography of 195 of his contemporaries. Twelve pages are devoted to Roman officials, bishops, and the popes of Luther's time (pp. 327-335). Among the popes, Julius II, Leo X, Adrian VI, Clement VII, and Paul III receive special attention. The author, while critical in a way, by and large tries to be, historically speaking, fair to these Catholic leaders. He is especially harsh, however, toward Popes Leo X, Clement VII, and Paul III (pp. 335-338). His final evaluation of these popes as a whole, nevertheless, will not meet the unchallenged approval of his Catholic readers: "Some of them were good and noble," he says; "some of them were villainous, some of them neutral and indifferent, but all had closed their eyes to the new day that was dawning in Christendom—the restoration of the Church of Christ, in the light of the Gospel" (p. 338). That restoration was due not, indeed, to Luther, who only bemuddled the traditional Catholic doctrine of ages through his false and unwarranted interpretation and interpolation of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans,* but rather to the Council of Trent, which, albeit too lately convened due primarily to political disturbances and interferences (cf. the reviewer's article in the *American Ecclesiastical Review,* CX [March, 1944], 193-202) pointed the way to Christ and His doctrines. The Lutheran Reformation was the historical occasion for a much needed reform in the Church, not the efficient cause of the same.

The book is written, as might be expected, from a purely Protestant viewpoint and with an understanding hero-worship of its subject. Few books, however, in English have treated in a single volume the many men associated with the Lutheran Reformation. The work is embellished with a number of sixteenth-century woodcuts. The literary value of the volume is enhanced by its bio-bibliographical notes on the authors mentioned (pp. 347-351); and by a workable index for each of its two parts. In the literature, however, Denifle's critical study of *Luther und Luthertum* deserved to be mentioned; also Pastor's *History of the Popes,* and Belloc's popular book, *How the Reformation Happened.* All in all, though, the work has its merits, especially on account of the historical delineation of the age and times of Luther.

RAPHAEL M. HUBER

St. Anthony-on-Hudson
Rensselaer

Saint Ignatius of Loyola Letters to Women, Edited by Hugo Rahner, S.J. Translated by Kathleen Pond and S. A. H. Weetman. (New York: Herder and Herder, Inc. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 564 [plates]. $11.50.)

The past decade has witnessed a decided popular trend toward the publication of personal letters, as more and more their significance as historical documents is appreciated. The great Jesuit founder, Ignatius of Loyola, was himself aware of the historic importance of correspondence, as is attested by some 7,000 extant letters carefully preserved, and available in twelve volumes, and by his shrewd observation in a letter of 1542 that "the written word remains and bears perpetual witness." In Father Rahner's collection, done in the great tradition of German historical scholarship, meticulous organization, and excellent illustrations, an important addition is made to Jesuit history. Ignatius' almost unknown correspondence with women, printed here for the first time, for the most part, does not omit even the seemingly unimportant and trivial, a fact which enhances rather than hinders an evocation of the human qualities of a living Ignatius, for none of us is always .interesting! *Letters to Women* admirably gives the lie to the oft-repeated and one-sided "soldier and man's saint" view of Ignatius. It is in his talks with women of all stations in life that real insight into the warmth of the saint in his relationships with others best appears. On the other hand, due caution must be taken not to over-emphasize the role of these letters in an evaluation of Ignatius, for out of his total correspondence, only eighty-nine letters to women remain, plus twenty lists of contents of letters to women recorded in the regesta.

The book, published in German in 1956 to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Loyola's death, has been skillfully translated into English. If one might find fault with a work of such consummate scholarship, some small complaint might be lodged against the publishers for an overly fine typeset.

The letters, accompanied by an invaluable historical commentary on the part of the editor (notably in unravelling the intricacies of Spanish and Italian relationships), cover Ignatius' career from 1524 to his death, and include letters ranging from those to the humble housewife, Ines Pascual, the motherly benefactress of the decisive Manresa period, to Doña Leonor Mascarenhas, high-born governess of Philip II of Spain and the unfortunate Don Carlos; from the emperor's daughter Juana, to the spiritual distress of a nun hidden in her convent. In orderly, yet imaginative, topical organization Father Rahner has grouped the letters into six main categories, fittingly entitled to highlight both the versatility of Ignatius' interests and the character of the times: "Courtier of Heaven," "God's Cavalier," "Beggar for the Kingdom of Heaven," "The Inexorable Comforter," "Father in Christ" (letters to mothers of fellow-Jesuits), and "Friendship in God." The editor's own keen insight is evidenced frequently, as in such incisive comparisons as that of Ignatius' cannily controlled re-drafting of letters with the help of his secretary, Juan de Polanco, as against the vastly entertaining Philip Neri letters, or the lively, richly expressed messages of Teresa of Avila, all of whom wrote to many of the same Spanish women whom Ignatius addressed—

Mendozas, Medinaceli, Alba. For Ignatius there existed no intimacies, no unguarded moments, yet the editor succinctly, and loyally, estimates the real worth of his subject: "Ignatius' letters can afford to be so commonplace because their writer is so other-worldly . . . behind each word [there is] a shy man, a man without literary skill, but a man of courage gifted with the ear for the 'inner language'" (p. 8). In another instance, Father Rahner perceives and presents stirringly a moment in the joining of Renaissance and Reformation, in the marriage of Ottavio Farnese, grandson of the reigning Pope Paul III, and Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V, on November 4, 1538, only two weeks before Master Ignatius of Loyola appeared in Rome with his companions to place themselves wholly in the service of the papacy. Margaret was the first princess to take the Jesuits as her confessors (p. 76).

Rahner rightly recognizes that aside from providing further insights into the character of Ignatius, the letters provide a rare source of information on the history of the spiritual care of women at the beginning of sixteenth-century ecclesiastical reform. To this reviewer, of equal significance to the history of the Counter Reformation was Ignatius' foundation of and letters to the House of St. Martha in Rome for fallen women. Nowhere does Ignatius reveal so much tenderness and kindness than in his care and reform of these women, and nowhere else, perhaps, in the vast works, did Ignatius encounter such violent opposition to his ideas, so in advance of their time. Yet, by his death, countless houses of St. Martha existed throughout the Italian cities. An illuminating discussion of the women of the Colonna family, notably Michelangelo's great friend, Vittoria, is but one of many significant contributions to scholarly knowledge of the multi-faceted Counter Reformation provided in this brilliant compilation of Ignatius' relations with almost every aspect of the contemporary scene.

Throughout the entire work Ignatius dominates the pageant of characters presented, and emerges from his stilted, formal sentences a Spaniard of exquisite tact, diplomacy, and grave courtesy, whether writing to a benefactress, calming a troubled conscience, skillfully smoothing over quarrels and lawsuits, or patching up matrimonial disputes. Though his phrases were stilted, there was nothing cramped about his "greatness of soul" and the warmth of his spirit won him many friends who understood he loved without words. Yet, now and then one catches glimpses of his inner sturdy affection, as when he wrote young Isabel de Vega in fatherly solicitude, "now and for always you are written deep in my heart" (p. 416). Ignatius the saint rings forth in simple endings of enduring sincerity "Poor in goodness, Iñigo" (p. 183), or in unconscious attestations as in a letter to Margaret of Austria in 1553: "In this house and college we are well; and both here and in other parts Our Lord marches before us and makes use of this humble society" (p. 86).

Massive, but unobtrusive, scholarship in the constant and thorough usage of the great holding of Jesuit research resources, such as the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* or the *Polanci Complementa,* is evidenced in the notes and careful indexing. *Letters to Women* is a study which will appeal to a wide audience of scholars and laymen, for it has unquestionably a universality of appeal.

SISTER JOSEPH DAMIEN HANLON

Saint Joseph's College for Women
Brooklyn

St. Paul of the Cross. Founder of the Passionists. By Charles Alméras. Translation by M. Angeline Bouchard. (Garden City: Hanover House. 1960. Pp. 286. $3.95.)

This able biography, smoothly translated from French into English, does more than just acquaint the reader with the personality and achievements of St. Paul of the Cross. The book illuminates from another viewpoint a period in the history of the Church which is still rather unknown to many. The era before the French Revolution, while it lacks the depth of the Renaissance or the Protestant Revolt or the immediacy of the social upheavals of the last century, yet offers much information certain to be of interest to those who seek the results of earlier events and the causes of modern problems. In this period when monarchs apparently exercised weighty influence over policies of the Holy See, the story of Paul of the Cross served as a proof of the Church's inner vitality. The paradox of his foundation, the Passionists, enjoying the favor of Pope Clement XIV who suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1773 is in itself intriguing enough to lure the reader on in search of enlightenment.

Described as the first of Father Alméras' books to be translated into English, this biography sparkles with descriptions of persons and places. Among these are to be found the autocratic confessor of the young Paul Danei, the unique and dramatic preacher that Paul proved himself to be, the paternal visits of Clement XIV to the infirm founder and the warmth of spiritual counsel radiating from Paul to his sons and daughters in religion. A vivid course of self-conquest, from boyhood through ordination to the last infirm years, is devotedly traced by the author, stressing Paul's determination that God's will be fulfilled in him and depicting his perseverance in establishing the religious family he knew he was called to originate.

Inherent in the biography, although the author does not openly indicate it, is the patience of bishops and cardinals with the restless ascetic, turning from one retreat foundation to another, seeking the place where his religious family might best take root. In early years it seemed that he accepted one bishop's invitation into his diocese only to relinquish that opportunity for another more promising place. Both in Paul and in his patrons patience was luminous as the grace of God worked in all to the end so keenly desired by Paul. Unshaken by initial restrictions placed upon his institute, or the vagaries of the inevitable negotiations with court and curia, Paul kept on until the Passionists were approved in the manner he desired.

The Abbé André Combes' fluent introduction to the book rightly singles out for special praise that chapter which analyzes the spirituality of the saint, for therein his abandonment to the will of God is described most persuasively. Another chapter, a brief one, examines Paul's personality, which while not as compelling as that of some saints, is still the appealing and balanced character of the man of God. The sermons, letters, and conferences of such a man must be rich in words of guidance and edification. The biographer leaves the reader with the keen desire to know even more of St. Paul of the Cross, such as his words, his relations with the Jesuits in their darkest hour, and his contribution to the absorbing tapestry that religious communities have woven in the life of the Church.

THOMAS F. CASEY

St. John's Seminary
Brighton

The Calas Affair. Persecution, Toleration, and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Toulouse. By David D. Bien. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 199. $4.00.)

One of the more perplexing problems confronting the historian of post-Reformation Europe is that of comprehending the bitterness of rival religious groups which, in the name of truth, tried to exterminate each other. Just as puzzling is the fact that it took so long before the principle of live and let live became a working reality for a large number of people of any nation. Consequently, it is a distinct service to the historian to have the opportunity to study this question in detail as it unfolded in an area of France which had a long history of conflict over religious beliefs. Professor Bien demonstrates an admirable objectivity in his study of the status of tolerance and intolerance in Toulouse and its environs in the eighteenth century. His thorough research makes it possible to discuss with lucidity and fairness the trial and execution of Jean Calas.

Since the author is interested in discovering how much actual religious intolerance was involved in the Calas affair he studies the attitudes of the Catholics of Toulouse toward the Calvinists in the period before the incident which brought Calas before his judges. Investigation of the sources leads to the conclusion that there was sufficient evidence to show that Calvinists and Catholics got along quite well; this, Mr. Bien concluded, was toleration by indifference. Since this inference is substantiated by the sources the question arises, why was there such a drastic change in 1761?

The answer to this question is found in the frantic reaction of the people of Toulouse to military failure, social unrest, and economic distress. This thesis is supported by demonstrating that the Calas affair was not unique at that time in the area around Toulouse. The arrest of François Rochette, a Protestant minister, in Caussade, a month before the body of Marc-Antoine Calas was found, and the subsequent suspicion that there was a Protestant plot to rescue Rochette, aroused the fears of the Catholics and changed their attitude from indifferentism to hysteria over Protestantism. Against this background the attitude of the parlement and the people of Toulouse is more easily understood. With the return of peace, relations between the Catholics and the Calvinists became normal once again and, after 1770, due to the influence of the Enlightenment, a new form of toleration developed.

This is an interesting and well written book. Professor Bien is very convincing, and any student desirous of learning the basic facts of the Calas affair will have all the material he needs for a clear understanding of this intriguing period.

HAROLD L. STANSELL

Regis College
Denver

Lo Stato Pontificio e il Movimento Riformatore del Settecento. By Luigi Dal Pane. (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè. 1959. Pp. vii, 798. L. 4,500.)

This book contains two new essays and reprints of eleven articles which Luigi Dal Pane, professor of economic history and director of the Institute of Economic and Social History at the University of Bologna, published between 1932 and 1957. His decision, after requests, to republish these articles is most laudable. There is an obvious convenience in having a book rather than articles published in several different journals; moreover, when the articles appear together, their unity makes an impression. Illustrations, 173 pages of documents, and the new essays are important additions.

The first two parts are the new essays, "Sull' Esistenza di un Moto Riformatore nello Stato Pontificio (Appunti di storia della storiografia)" and "Il Moto Riformatore dal Punto di Vista della Legislazione, delle

Ideologie, e delle Strutture." They give a general view and also serve as an introduction for the reprinted articles. Some historians have been dominated by the concept of history as only past politics in spite of the work of Luigi Cossa, Giuseppe Ricca Salerno, and other economists. As early as 1880 Ricca Salerno called attention to the great lack of understanding about economic institutions in the Papal States. In his book published in 1881 and revised in 1896, he had a chapter about the reforms there (a valuable reprint is that of the 1896 edition, *Storia delle Dottrine Finanziarie in Italia,* edited by Sergio Guccione. Padua: Cedam. 1960). Some writers showed a definite prejudice against or bias in favor of the popes, and contributed nothing about the reform movement. In contrast Ludwig von Pastor used critical judgment; still, according to Professor Dal Pane, Benedict XIV's most important act escaped Pastor. Likewise Pastor's summary of Pius VI's pontificate is incomplete, because economic sources were not used. Pastor never mentions the interest of Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo in economic changes or the work of Count Marco Fantuzzi and Giovanni Cristiano De Miller.

In addition to biographical sketches and evaluations Professor Dal Pane includes a number of documents, as the extracts made in 1781 by De Miller from Arthur Young's *Political Arithmetic,* nineteen letters from Cardinal Ruffo and De Miller to Monsignor Alessandretti, and the entire first part and some of the second part of Fantuzzi's report about the collection of customs in Romagna. The essays contain many interesting statements and conclusions. Hitherto writers have not studied the popes' economic legislation as an organic whole. Some of the steps taken by Benedict XIV prepared the way for Pius VI and Pius VII in freeing interstate commerce from tolls. Among the popes of the last centuries who were interested in reform, three were of the eighteenth: Benedict XIV, Clement XIV, and Pius VI, and two of the nineteenth: Pius VII and Pius IX. Professor Dal Pane demonstrates the ideal that he has for research, "per totalità," by using documents from state, provincial, communal, and private archives. He promises other reprints in book form.

MARY LUCILLE SHAY

University of Illinois

Revolution and Papacy, 1769-1846. By E. E. Y. Hales. (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc. Pp. 320. $4.50.)

This book contains at once both more and less than the title implies. It contains more because the author gives us a complete picture of the relation between the Holy See and the European governments whether they be revolutionary or not; thus the first two chapters deal with Popes Clement XIV and Pius VI at grips with the enlightened despots. The volume contains less because the events subsequent to 1815 are shown in a most summary way, and especially because the ordinary ending for a study on the papacy and the revolution should be the seizure of Rome in 1870. One can understand, however, that Mr. Hales did not wish to return to the reign of Pius IX after his authoritative *Pio Nono* (1954). Be that as it may, the author gives us, in the framework he has chosen, a solidly documented account, admirably balanced and pleasant to read. The pontifical policy is examined with sympathy, but without apologetic complacency, and one is happy to note the care with which justice is rendered to the intentions of the adversaries of the papacy. Throughout the work Mr. Hales exercises calmly and in a masterly way this essential function of the historian—to bring about an increased comprehension. Never, perhaps, has one brought about so well an understanding of the contradictions that resulted for the pope because of his having been at one and the same time a spiritual leader and a temporal sovereign. After having read this book, one remains convinced that the Papal State was somewhat like a devilish spirit in the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century, but one is at the same time more indulgent toward those who did not have the daring to strangle it themselves.

Mr. Hales is well aware of the works which have, these last years, clarified various aspects of his subject, and one would be unwarranted in reproaching him for having omitted one or another title in a bibliography which does not pretend to be complete. On the contrary, he should be praised for having taken the trouble, on several points, to consult archival sources. The only inexactitudes are so slight that one is almost ashamed to mention them. First, as to questions concerning dates: e.g., it is difficult to believe that the Empress Maria Theresa was influenced in her decision of April, 1773, to support the French court in the Jesuit affair by a desire to assure the marriage of her daughter, Marie Antoinette, since this marriage had taken place in May, 1770. The *culte théophilanthropique* had begun at the end of 1796, not in 1794. The marriage of Talleyrand, presented as an obstacle to the concordat, had not taken place until September, 1802; and the King of Rome was not born in May, 1810 (p. 205).

Secondly, as to matters of terminology. A Frenchman will not speak of *députés en mission,* but of *représentants en mission;* in the terminology of the time there is an essential difference between deputy (authorized official of a definite group to which he is accountable for all his acts) and representative (the all-powerful agent of the supreme national authority). Likewise it would be difficult for a Frenchman to recognize the *culte décadaire* in the expression "Tenth Day celebration"; an explanation, at least, would be useful to the readers who know nothing about the good points of the republican calendar. The Austrian emperor should not be spoken of as 'Catholic Majesty,' a title belonging to the King of Spain, but rather 'His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty.' Lebzeltern, the Austrian envoy, is mistakenly adorned with the title of 'count,' a title that was not given to him until several years later, after he had passed through the less flattering degrees of chevalier and baron. There are also some opinions or statements that may be contested because of too much brevity. Is it not an exaggeration to say that the renewal in the life of the Church was due to the saintly patience of Pius VII? Would it not have been well to state precisely, in regard to the constitutional oath, that only the priests who were in a salaried office were, at first, to submit to it? Did the Declaration of the Rights of Man imply separation of Church and State? Was not the question of Napoleon's divorce more debatable than it appears in Mr. Hales' exposition? Incidentally, it was the subject of a recent work that he does not mention. Was the action of Murat undertaken with the consent of Napoleon? It seems, on the contrary, according to the new work by J. P. Garnier, *Murat, roi de Naples,* that the impetuous and inept Joachim plunged into a number of his adventures against the wish of his imperial brother-in-law.

But once again it should be stated that all these are only minor flaws which can be corrected easily in a next edition. This next edition should be forthcoming, because this book fills a true need in the historiography of the period in the English language.

GUILLAUME DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY

Catholic Institute of Paris

Church and State in Canada West: 1841-1867. By John S. Moir. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 223. $4.75.)

Problems of Church and State in Canada necessarily took on an added importance from 1841 to 1867 during the legislative union of English-speaking, predominantly Protestant Canada West (Ontario) and French-speaking, Catholic Canada East (Quebec). This was the time of the first real experiments in co-operation between the two traditions, and such issues threatened the delicate balance that made co-operation possible. It was Canada West, with its varied religious background, that faced the problems here discussed: the clergy reserves, the university question, and separate schools.

By law one-seventh of the land granted for settlement was set aside for the support of the "Protestant Clergy." By the 1840's these reserves totalled 3,750 square miles and posed an economic and social as well as religious problem. Equally difficult and even more important was the question whether the provincial fund for higher education should go to religious colleges or to one secular university. That elementary education and religion belonged together was agreed, but Catholic insistence that this required separate Catholic schools within the provincial system raised opposition. Attitudes toward these problems ranged all the way from that of Bishop Strachan of the Church of England who looked longingly back to the established church in the mother country, to that of the more radical Protestant groups who adopted the American ideal of complete separation of Church and State. Solutions were necessarily compromises. When the clergy reserves were secularized in 1854, those with previous legal claims upon them received compensation. By 1867 the University of Toronto was moving toward the pluralist arrangement of denominational and non-denominational colleges within the one university. Non-denominational public schools, with religious instruction part of the curriculum, were complemented by a separate school system to which Catholics could assign their school taxes.

Two criticisms may be made here. If Franklin A. Walker's *Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1955) is "the best work" on the separate schools, its conclusions and documentation should not be ignored. More important, indeed, the main weakness of Mr. Moir's work is the fact that the notion of centrifugal denominationalism and centripetal nationalism, the main organizing idea of the book, fails to take full account of the complexity of the material. Surely true Canadian nationalism was that which looked for specifically Canadian answers to each of these problems.

T. J. HANRAHAN

St. Michael's College
Toronto

The Churches and the Church. A Study of Ecumenism. By Bernard Leeming, S.J. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1960. Pp. x, 340. $6.50.)

These Lauriston Lectures given at Edinburgh in 1957 begin with an historical survey of the most significant movement among Christian churches in this century, viz., that toward reunion. More than a survey, they are also a sympathetic and scholarly study of the movement's origins and leading ideas. Summarizing the non-theological factors which crystallized the divisions among Christians, Father Leeming cites the "memories of persecution" cherished in every denomination and pleads for "the exact and impartial writing of history" (p. 74). That he strives to do so is evident from his healthy sensitivity to the *aporiae* as well as the favorable aspects of ecumenical developments. From this viewpoint the book comes as a welcome supplement to the *History of the Ecumenical Movement* published in 1954 by leaders in the movement (cf. this REVIEW XLI [October, 1955], 316-318). Throughout his book the author shows familiarity also with the reports issued by the World Council of Churches.

Significant in Father Leeming's summary of the attitude ecumenists have toward Rome is the attitude of one of them that "What no historian can estimate is that which principally matters: how far, on both sides of this deep division between Christians, this is a story of the growth of that charity, without which all that has been recorded profiteth nothing" (p. 151). In regard to Rome's attitude, the author declares "This book is not meant to be an apologia . . . it is meant to explain the principles by which Rome's attitude is guided" (pp. 167-168). Of the narrowing gap between Rome's attitude and that of its separated brethren, he says, "The divergence is growing less, as Catholics understand better the sincere and deep longing of many non-Catholics for visible unity and the charity which inspires it, and as non-Catholics appreciate better that Catholic 'intransigeance' springs from a deeply rooted conception of the Church as the Body of Christ" (p. 171). He would also approve preparing Christians for reunion by "neutralizing the prejudices which one element nurses against the other. This can be accomplished by an appeal to the objective facts of history and by frankly acknowledging those values of genuine Christianity which separated groups have conserved and which Pope Pius XI compared to pieces broken off gold-bearing rock" (p. 249). Another point for the reflection of Christian historians is that "all elements of good existing in separation are not against Christ but for him" (p. 255).

These and many similar observations indicate that this volume is surely "a work of delicate discernment," and a "serene scholarly work, undertaken with aims neither controversial nor 'eirenic'." It is a courageous and candid interpretation of the ecumenical movement which meets the difficulties to be encountered in the approaches of our separated brethren toward unity with the only possible answer to them all: the word of Christ living in His Church and in the Scriptures. Like Father Congar's study, *Divided Christendom,* this book will act as a catalyst in regard to directions the ecumenical movement will take in the future. Father Leeming shows his competence by his thorough bibliography and his additional use of contemporary ecumenical periodical literature. Five valuable appendices and a very extensive index make it a complete and most serviceable source for contemporary historians.

HERMES KREILKAMP

Capuchin Seminary of St. Mary
Crown Pont, Indiana

AMERICAN CHURCH

History of Religion in the United States. By Clifton E. Olmstead. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1960. Pp. xii, 628. $7.50.)

Any one-volume work which sets out to tell the story of religion in the United States will necessarily omit some events, people, and movements which readers would like to see included. But Dr. Olmstead has managed to put together within the compass of a single volume quite a complete story of the religiously pluralist American society. In doing this he has provided a ready reference book on American religious history, and one which, taken as a whole, points up some of the aspects of religion in the United States which are usually little emphasized in the standard general histories. The author does not treat the religious history of the nation as if it were a remote island of clergymen, doctrines, and organizations. Throughout the book religious life is linked closely with political, economic, and social movements and trends. There is, e.g., repeated emphasis on the value of inter-colonial synods and missionary activity as a unifying force prior to the American Revolution; the close association of the churches with social and political reform movements both in Jackson's time and in the Progressive Era. The introduction to Chapter XXIII is a particularly excellent summary of the socio-economic causes leading to the secularization of American religion in the late nineteenth century.

While making these connections with non-religious history and its trends and events, the work finds certain "constants" in the history of American religion: revivalism as a chronically recurring phenomenon; ecumenism alternating with fragmentation; the tradition of preoccupation with education. The tradition of revivalist religion is pictured as a strong thread running through the multi-colored tapestry of American religious life, from the Great Awakening to Billy Graham. Waves of emotionalism and fervor rolled in repeatedly just when it seemed that faith and practice were about to die. Revivalist movements, usually aggressive in the face of organized opposition and attempted suppression, reached high tide and went into decline. But always before the ebb was complete, in rolled another wave of religious energy. One of the side effects of the revivalist movements, early and late, was further fragmentation of American religion, already so greatly divided by the variegated national and social origins of Americans. Yet, as part of the reaction against revivalism, the cause of unity in the church was often promoted. "New Side" schismatics, e.g., rejoined their more conservative Presbyterian brethren in a 1758 "Plan of Union." Repeatedly we see the efforts of Lutherans, Presbyterians, and others among the more 'organized' churches to bring together their separate synods and confessions, to bind up the wounds caused by the Revolution or Civil War, by political differences and social institutions, and so to reflect in their unity of policy and administration the unity of purpose and belief they felt to exist behind the external disunity.

The third theme of American religious history is its great interest in education, both religious and secular. It is given little attention in most of our histories—and too often passed over with a wry smile of condescension in our histories of education—that not only in 'Puritan' New England, but also in the middle and southern colonies the first colleges were primarily interested in the training of the clergy, and all were church-sponsored. The histories of these educational institutions very closely paralleled the history of the sponsoring church, even to the establishment of new colleges when schism rent the fabric of the church. The interlocking of religious and secular education is illustrated (pp. 291-292) in the origin of the Sunday school, where both types of training were given. The same tradition appears later in such educational movements as the Vacation Bible schools, Christian Endeavor, and Chatauqua. The great variety of American religion, often so amazing to the new arrival in our country, is amply illustrated in this volume. Thumbnail sketches of the chief doctrines of the churches are scattered through the book, but Chapter XV is especially enlightening. While recognizing that there were other, non-theological causes of disunity, Dr. Olmstead connects the schisms—particularly those of the early nineteenth century—with doctrinal differences. Some kind of illustration (a 'tree' perhaps) might have proved effective to show origins, subordinations, and what I have called fragmentation.

In any short treatment of an extensive subject there is bound to be some telescoping and simplification. The present work is no exception. The introductory treatment of the development of Christianity to the Middle Ages is rather over-simplified; and to speak of the Reformation as "no schism from the Church . . . (but) . . . rather a schism in the Church" is at least debatable. There is little warrant for the claim that the vital principle of American religion and its "single element of homogeneity" was a "passion for human rights." Or that the *only* influence unifying the colonies before the Revolution was the Great Awakening. It would be very difficult to prove that the "pulpit was the most important single force in the colonies for the shaping and controlling of public opinion" (pp. 192-194). Finally, it is seriously open to question whether the concept of the 'wall of separation' of Church and State, taken to mean total and complete separation, is the "traditional view" mentioned (p. 586). In the light of more recent events, it is hard to believe that Leo XIII's letter *Testem benevolentiae* of 1899 entirely crushed the Catholic "liberalizers" or that "with its issuance an era of liberalizing tendencies and wide fraternization came to an end" (p. 432). These reservations, however, do little to detract from the general excellence of Dr. Olmstead's work. He has presented a fair picture of American religion and of Americans—consistently optimistic (even naively so) about their religious life; increasingly aware of the need and the benefits of some kind of 'religion' and 'belief' even in a world of increasing secularism.

PAUL J. MABREY

St. Anthony's Junior Seminary
San Antonio

Brass-Knuckle Crusade. The Great Know-Nothing Conspiracy: 1820-1860. By Carleton Beals. (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, Inc. 1960. Pp. viii, 312. $5.95.)

This is a volume of the American Procession series. Its years and subtitle are not accurate. The author carries the story down to after World War I and it seems that he identifies any hate campaign from the New England religious hostilities of the early 1800's to the abuses of the Espionage and Sedition Acts of World War I with Know-Nothingism. There is a wealth of facts, but they are poorly correlated. Chronology is so completely ignored that the reader often does not know just what decade the author is describing. Furthermore, it is an historic fact that these group hostilities did exist but they were nowhere near so rampant or universal as Mr. Beals in his over-dramatized and journalistic writing would lead one to believe.

This work has the tendency to explain too many of these disputes in terms of religious bigotry pure and simple without an adequate investigation of the contributing factors such as the old world antipathies that the immigrant brought with him. How else can one explain that many of the English and Scotch Presbyterians in Philadelphia marched past St. Peter's German Catholic Church to assault St. John's Irish Catholic Church in 1844? Moreover, the economic motive does not seem to receive sufficient stress in this study. Thousands of newly-arrived immigrants in the mid-1800's were offering cruel labor competition to natives in a country suffering periodically from full-sized depressions. In several instances the cheap labor offered by the immigrant caused more trouble than his religious beliefs. Potent political currents rising in the adolescent nation are not properly traced. This was definitely a period of political ferment. The Whig Party was gasping its last and the Democrats were developing along new lines. For the first time in the life of the nation, third parties were becoming significant and could make a difference in important elections. There were too many tolerant Protestant ministers, even during those hostile years, for such a statement as this: "Before long rabid anti-Catholic, anti-foreign sermons became the vogue in nearly all the Protestant churches in the land" (p. 31). And the following conclusion might be difficult to justify: "At bottom, of course, neither side (Protestant or Catholic) was basically concerned with truth or justice or human rights—merely in power and its emoluments" (p. 32).

On the whole this study is very fair to the Catholic Church and its leaders. Yet these words are too severe for even the aggressive Bishop Hughes of New York: "Whatever his (Hughes) lip service to American doctrines of freedom, he was interested in them only for the benefit of Catholics . . . although deprived of actual rack and screw and hot irons, he was pretty much a Torquemada in ideas and methods" (p. 116). The ill-fated Father William Hogan was never head of the Diocese of Philadelphia as the caption under his picture would indicate. Every riot and every disturbance, no matter how disparate, are included in this study and interpreted as part of the Know-Nothing movement. Little or no attempt has been made to explain that those were generally unruly days when city and state officials were confronted with tremendous expansion problems. Adding to their difficulty was the fact that few cities had an adequate uniformed police force. For the above reasons, this work does not present a true picture or interpretation of the period. It may make interesting reading, but it is hardly history.

HUGH J. NOLAN

Immaculata College

History of the Catholic Church in Nebraska. Volume I: *The Church on the Northern Plains, 1838-1874.* By Henry W. Casper, S.J. (Milwaukee: Catholic Life Publications, Bruce Press. 1960. Pp. xx, 344. $7.50.)

The present Archbishop of Omaha commissioned a multi-volume history in connection with the celebration of the centennial of the Church in Nebraska. The work is being done by a professor of The Creighton University. Father Casper's first volume covers the pioneer days, the administration of Bishop James M. O'Gorman, O.C.S.O., when the vicariate extended to the Continental Divide and the Canadian border. In his preface the author makes it plain that the work is intended primarily for the Catholics of Nebraska, and consequently contains much detail of little interest to the general reader. He is certainly too modest, however, in assuming that his volume has "not . . . a single chapter significant for the history of the Church in the entire United States." The story of the Church in Nebraska has its elements of both significance and romance. Before the territory was opened to white settlement the Jesuits were seeking out the Indians, and throughout the period covered by this book they were the bishop's chief support in the far northwest reaches of his vicariate. The vicariate was one of the areas most affected by President Grant's Peace Policy; reference to Rahill's work might have made this section clearer.

The story of Father Jeremiah F. Trecy and St. John's City is one of those wildly optimistic ventures into which imaginative Catholic priests sometimes misled their flocks. Benedictines cared for a series of missions out of the wagon train town of Nebraska City and a handful of varied personalities made up Bishop O'Gorman's diocesan clergy. They worked under primitive conditions along the line of the new transcontinental railroad and in the mining camps of the West, as well as in the little agricultural villages of the state. Some of these men come alive in this book. A special niche in the Church should be reserved for Father James Mary Ryan, better known as "Ole Cap," the unofficial chaplain of the Union Pacific Railroad. He was reputed to have known so little Latin that he could not say office, but was certainly a successful missionary to the men who built the railroad. Who would expect the Sisters of Charity to open hospitals in the mining camps of Montana in 1869? Here we wish the documents had permitted Father Casper to give a fuller picture. Bishop O'Gorman, who could be expected to dominate this volume, remains a somewhat shadowy figure. Evidently he was not a very vigorous prelate, a circumstance explained, perhaps, by his poor health. The early history of the Church in Omaha is told in some detail. The bishop was more fortunate than some in that he could describe his vicariate as having one rich man, Edward Creighton, the contractor of the transcontinental telegraph line.

The story of the Catholic immigrant in Nebraska might have been given more significance if it had been more closely related to the progress of settlement in the territory. There is a small map of the vicariate, but a map of the missions in Nebraska is missed by the reader, particularly since the author has organized much of his work around these settlements. The book is indexed, but there is no bibliography other than the references in the footnotes. All in all Father Casper's work is a conscientious account of the Church in the pioneer's Nebraska, drawn almost entirely from primary sources.

PETER BECKMAN

St. Benedict's College
Atchison

The Visit of Archbishop Gaetano Bedini to the United States of America (June, 1853-February, 1854). By James F. Connelly. [Analecta Gregoriana, Volume 109.] (Rome: Gregorian University. 1960. Pp. xiii, 308. $4.25.)

The turbulent history of the mid-nineteenth century Catholicism in the United States was, in many respects, a consequence of the anti-clerical reaction of revolt-torn Europe. The smoldering fires of nativist religious prejudices, fanned by violent European winds in the form of refugee radicals and anti-clericals, erupted against American Catholics. The 1840's that ushered in a period of discord in several American cities were but a prelude to the more violent experiences in the 1850's. The mob's seizure of the papal gift of marble for the Washington Monument, the infamous "Bloody Monday" in Louisville, and the vicious attacks upon the papal nuncio, Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, were some manifestations of the turbulence of this decade. It is this last incident which is recounted in this volume of the Gregorian University's church history series.

The author has divided his study into two distinct parts. The first, embracing twelve chapters, is a chronicle-like narrative spelling out in detail the particulars of Bedini's visit; the second part is a translation of the nuncio's lengthy report. Father Connelly sketches briefly the negotiations in which the American chargé d'affaires at Rome assured the papal authorities of a cordial reception for Bedini. Only when this assurance had been received were the American bishops informed of the impending visit, and their reaction was not enthusiastic. In addition to the recent anti-Catholic outbursts, the hierarchy was confronted by serious internal problems, such as trusteeism and the nationalist rivalries. It is entirely understandable that they should have been reluctant to expose themselves to the further criticism that such an ill-timed journey would bring.

Archbishop Bedini was cordially received, however, in the first phase of his visitation. But active hostility, instigated by the apostate priest, Alessandro Gavazzi, and nurtured by radicals and nativists, soon stalked the footsteps of the archbishop. Riots, disorders, and vilifications so disrupted the nuncio's plans that he was forced to depart ignominiously from New York on February 4, 1854.

In presenting this detailed account of Bedini's journey the author has marred the narrative by his extensive use of long quotations from newspapers, official documents, letters, and the like. Except for Chapters X and XII Father Connelly has stood aloof from the narrative and has not sufficiently interpreted nor evaluated the events he describes and the sources he uses. Furthermore, he has failed to recount satisfactorily the religious and secular background of the era, so that the reader might grasp more readily the significance of the riots in Cincinnati, the Italian radicals' plot on Bedini's life, and Bishop Richard Whelan's threat of force to preserve church property in Wheeling. Several general statements, e.g., that Bedini's visit was so significant that it should receive treatment in a history of the United States, need amplification. The author has likewise missed a number of opportunities to dramatize, without fictionalizing, some of the electrifying events of the archbishop's journey. There are a few minor printing errors, and the absence of an index is inexcusable.

But as disheartening as the Bedini incident was, Father Connelly has correctly cited several contributions to the American Church which resulted from this visitation. He mentions the nuncio's part in the establishment of the North American College, and he attributes the subsequent victory over trusteeism in great measure to the archbishop's firm stand on the Buffalo problem. Furthermore, the United States government is justifiably taken to task for its failure to offer protection to the distinguished visitor, since assurance of a cordial reception had been given in advance.

The author's prefatory remarks along with his translation and editing of the nuncio's incisive and stimulating report make the second part of this monograph invaluable.

FRANCIS G. MCMANAMIN

Woodstock College

American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865-1950. By Aaron I. Abell. (Garden City: Hanover House. 1960. Pp. viii, 306. $4.95.)

Professor Abell, author of many thoughtful articles on American Catholic intellectual history, has now published this summary volume. Rich in citation from periodicals and from manuscripts at Notre Dame, welcome as an essay in an uncrowded field, the book will, nevertheless, disappoint those attracted by its title.

Abell has a fascinating story to tell, and his extensive quotations from contemporary sources give it characteristic tone. He recalls the "charity phase" of the "urban welfare crusade," and then the tedious route by which, with the help of *Rerum novarum,* bishops and editors became more hospitable to social legislation. He calls the chapter on the years 1884-1901 "Battling for Social Liberalism." This pushes wide Catholic interest in social reform further back than other scholars—Ellis, Browne, Cross—have done. Abell's evidence does not support this title, for in a subsequent chapter on the period 1900-1917, he shows how missionary work by early groups like Dietz's Militia of Christ led slowly to the eventual assent of the hierarchy. The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction in 1919 and the subsequent pastorals on social and economic questions show the American Church in a refreshingly radical posture, but they were long in coming. In assessing the "impressive record of the last two decades," Abell willingly exposes his enthusiasm. At the same time, as he carries his narrative through the depression and the New Deal, through labor schools, the triumph of the CIO, and the industry council plan, he gives fair treatment to opponents of liberal Catholic social thought, even to his colleague at Notre Dame.

Most of this material is the familiar product of the past two decades of splendid Catholic scholarship, including Abell's own research. He is oddly victimized by his own previous work. A revision of an old article pushes its way between chapters 2 and 4, overlapping in both directions, destroying coherence. An absence of definition in the book creates more uncertainty: "Americanism" is used to mean the Church's adaptation to the American environment, the integration of immigrants, a phantom heresy. *(Testem benevolentiae* is never mentioned in the text, though the McAvoy book appears in the bibliography.) Words made slippery slide out of the mind: after the Civil War, Abell says, "the Catholic social movement gained the momentum of a veritable crusade"; the crusade turns out to be a quest for "social improvement within a framework of existing arrangements." What is a "social movement," what a "veritable crusade"? So liberal are the bishops in the 1880's that their liberalism in 1919 looks like a redundant assault on a twice-won goal. The author has not been well served by his publishers, for they apparently induced him to cut his manuscript without insisting on smooth transitions, sometimes (pp. 17-18) even within a paragraph. As a result, no cohesive argument emerges, not even in the preface.

These unkind comments come regretfully. They should be balanced by recognition of the useful material gathered in the individal sections. Social historians will exploit Professor Abell's text and, even more, his footnotes for the indefinite future.

FRANCIS L. BRODERICK

Phillips Exeter Academy

The Catholic Vote. By John H. Fenton. (New Orleans: Hauser Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 146. $4.75.)

In this compact, closely written study of 146 pages, published before the recent presidential election, the author attempts to answer the question: is there actually a Catholic vote? Using the statistical method and employing numerous analytical tables, he analyzes the result of the birth control bill in Massachusetts in 1942 and 1948; the right-to-work law in Ohio in 1958; the extension of Negro voting in Louisiana; the Catholic vote for Catholic candidates in Minnesota, Pennsylvania, California, and New York; and the voting record of Catholic congressmen to determine if they vote in blocks.

From the mass of statistics he has studied, the author concludes that the Catholic vote is solid and united where a question of 'dogma' such as birth control is the issue. On other matters such as right-to-work laws and civil rights which he terms "political questions," the influence of the Catholic Church on its members, though not so decisive is "persuasive and profound." In these conclusions the author fails to recognize that the basis of the Catholic voter's decision is not human persuasion but the recognition of an absolute standard of morality dictated by God. Issues such as birth control, human rights, and the dignity of man whether Negro or laborer, are for the Catholic matters of conscience. He casts his vote not because of clerical dictation, but because of his basic moral values of the issues involved. In his analysis of the voting record of Catholic members of Congress, Mr. Fenton makes the same mistake. He concludes that Catholic congressmen are influenced more by their constituents than by their Church. Naturally, since their vote on the legislation he analyzes is based on matters of prudence and judgment, not fundamental morality.

Will Catholics vote for a Catholic candidate when his opponent is a Protestant? Admitting the presence of variables, such as ability, the world situation, and economic conditions, the author concludes that there is a "tendency of Catholics to support Catholic candidates for political office to a greater extent than Protestants support candidates in opposition to Catholics" (p. 120). He explains this difference in attitude with a most amazing and grotesque reason: Catholic isolation from American secular society, the result of Catholic schools, Catholic organizations, Catholic clubs, etc. It is incredible that a student of history and the social sciences such as the author purports to be could make such a statement in the light of recognized Catholic participation in American political, social, economic, and cultural organizations. Oblivious of this fact, Mr. Fenton confidently prognosticates: "As Catholics are integrated into the greater American community through improved educational and employment opportunities"—by which he means attendance at public schools and secular universities as well as participation in social, economic, and cultural groups—"the grossly differential influence of the Catholic Church on the political behaviour of its members should wither away. Concurrently with integration of Catholics into the American community, the Catholic Church should be Americanized and its pronouncements on issues such as education and birth control less and less likely to be a divisive force in the society" (p. 121). This basic and contrary-to-fact assumption completely vitiates the author's statistical analysis and renders his conclusions worthless.

VINCENT F. HOLDEN

Church of St. Paul the Apostle
New York

MODERN EUROPE

Edmund Burke and Ireland. Thomas H. D. Mahoney. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 413. $7.50.)

Since World War II there has been a great revival of interest in the life and thought of the great Anglo-Irish statesman, Edmund Burke. Much of what Burke wrote and said was concerned with the eighteenth-century revolutionary world of France, America, and India. Since the late 1930's we have experienced a similar world and men have turned to Burke for direction and advice. A great deal of his writings which were formerly unknown have been published, e.g., Ross Hoffman's, *O'Hara Correspondence* (Philadelphia, 1956) or at least made available to scholars, as in the Fitzwilliam Papers. There have appeared a number of fine Burke studies and new biographies based upon this new material, but until the present publication, there has been no full length study of his life-long connection with the land of his birth. Professor Mahoney's volume will more than displace William O'Brien's sketchy *Edmund Burke as an Irishman* (Dublin, 1926).

Heretofore Ireland has been overshadowed in Burke's career by more important events elsewhere which occupied his attention. Throughout his entire career, he always dealt with Ireland in piece-meal fashion and, more often than not, he worked behind the scenes. Professor Mahoney makes full use of all the Burke literature both published and unpublished, following the general thread of Ireland, and his conclusions read like a lawyer's brief. If at times the reading of this work is difficult, it is not from a lack of thoroughness. The first and last utterances of Burke were concerned with Ireland. His efforts in behalf of his native land earned him the epithet of "papist" and "Jesuit," and many political cartoons pictured him as a priest. Nonetheless, his efforts on behalf of Irish freedom of religion and politics never wavered. He was behind the first attempts of emancipation in 1778 and lost his seat from Bristol because of his efforts in behalf of Ireland. He believed that Ireland was not strong enough to be independent, and far in advance of his time, he advocated home rule. He would have Ireland independent in home affairs and subordinate to the British parliament in imperial matters.

Mr. Mahoney does not blindly defend his subject's every action and statement, e.g., he finds Burke most inconsistent in opposing Pitt's move for Irish free trade in 1794. For the reviewer, the most interesting aspects of the book were Burke's views on imperialism, home rule for Ireland, and his wonderful Christian statement on the natural law as it affected religious toleration and freedom of conscience. It was this definite Christian mind of Burke that put him, above all else, in "revolt against the eighteenth century." As a pioneer of Catholic Emancipation he deserved the praise that he once referred to another, "To the beginners, the glory." There can be little doubt of Edmund Burke's constant concern for Irish freedom after reading Professor Mahoney's book.

JOHN EDMUND O'BRIEN

Seton Hall University

Mrs. Fitzherbert. By Anita Leslie. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1960. Pp. 239. $5.00.)

A "doubtless blackguard," voluptuary, a "millstone" about his father's neck, one who never acted well by man or women, these are the judgments of history of George IV who as regent and king in his own right ruled Great Britain from 1810 to 1830. Yet this was the man who earned and retained the loyalty of a Catholic gentlewoman who was his wife in the eyes of the Church, whose memory he carried (in the Cosway miniature worn around his neck) to the grave. Mrs. Fitzherbert, the lady in question, must always pique the curiosity of the merely romantic; this most recent biography by a direct descendant of her foster daughter, Minney Seymour, serves history as well.

Suffering the most annoying of all handicaps, the full knowledge that many of the most important letters of that day were destroyed, Miss Leslie has succeeded, nevertheless, in piecing together a story more complete than any since the publication in 1856 of the so-called *Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert.* Building upon a collection of materials garnered over a period of thirty years by her father, Sir Shane Leslie, Anita Leslie has made public many valuable documents from the archives at Windsor Castle, the Fitzclarence Papers belonging to the Earl of Munster, and others which added to the word-of-mouth traditions handed down in the Leslie family permit a portrait of Mrs. Fitzherbert not likely to be ignored.

To quote Miss Leslie, "There seems to have been no one else like her. George had all England to hunt in, but only Maria cut his heart to the quick. For this one woman, Catholic and virtuous and forbidden, he writhed in torment." For her he contravened the Royal Marriage Act; for her he wrote a will cutting off the Princess of Wales without a shilling. Born Maria Smythe in 1756, she first married in 1775 Edward Weld of Lulworth Castle, Dorset. Weld was forty-four at the time, and Maria's senior by twenty-six years. But Maria was not at Lulworth when John Carroll was consecrated first Bishop of Baltimore there in 1790, for Edward died from a fall from a horse before she had been there a year and the castle and fortune passed to his brother Thomas, the sixth possessor of the estate. After three years of widowhood Maria married again, another weathy Catholic gentleman (this one ten years her senior) named Thomas Fitzherbert of Swynnerton in Staffordshire. This marriage, too, was brief, leaving her a widow for the second time in her twenty-four years. But she was to bear Fitzherbert's name to the end of her life by reason of the peculiar nature of her third marriage.

According to Miss Leslie, "it was not necessary to have a Catholic priest, for an Anglican ceremony stood valid in the eyes of Rome and all Christendom. According to the old Canon Law the ministers to a marriage were the parties concerned who made the contract." In any case, a Reverend Mr. Burt was bribed by the Prince of Wales to read the ceremony which was witnessed by two Catholics; in flowery handwriting the prince signed the marriage certificate. Rome apparently accepted the marriage as valid, for in 1799 when the prince was trying to rejoin Mrs. Fitzherbert after his marriage to Princess Caroline of Brunswick, his first wife appealed to Rome for clarification of her duty and the Roman reply (again according to her biographer) assured Mrs. Fitzherbert that she "must regard herself as the only true wife of the Prince of Wales." The story of the eight happy years which followed this reconciliation, and the longer ones of less joy until George's death in June, 1830, is told with fascinating detail and documentation. Miss Leslie can give no more categorical solution to the old question of possible issue from the union than could earlier writers. The documents available have been too mutilated, alas. "We only know that when Lord Stourton counselled her to leave some evidence in her own handwriting that no children had been born 'she smilingly objected on the score of delicacy.'" And when American James Ord, who had been educated by the Jesuits at Georgetown, wrote to Mrs. Fitzherbert discreetly inquiring whether he was her son born the year after her marriage to the prince, he received no reply.

But on other matters: life in England in the first half of the nineteenth century, familiar glimpses of the royal brothers (particularly William IV), the exotic life in Brighton, the wit and quiet charm of her heroine, and above all, the marvelous extensiveness of the direct quotations, Miss Leslie leaves little to be desired. The charming good taste of the book's format becomes both author and subject and does credit to the publisher.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE

State College at Bridgewater
Massachusetts

Roma Capitale dal Risorgimento alla crisi dello stato liberale. By Alberto Caracciolo. (Roma: Edizioni Rinascita. 1956. Pp. xi, 294. L. 590.)

In the preparation of this study on Rome during a significant period of modern Italian history, Caracciolo examined with diligent care many unpublished documents in the public and private archives of the city, including the private papers of several of the leading figures: Riboli, Campello, Finocchiaro, Giovagnoli, Mancini, Pianciani, Ricciotti Garibaldi, the Gregorian register of landed property, etc. The author also consulted the main published sources, e.g., the parliamentary papers of the chamber and the senate, the transactions of the proceeding of the communal council of Rome, and others. Divided into ten main chapters, the study deals with such topics as a description of Rome in the nineteenth century with special stress on its great moral force; the old and the Catholic traditions in the Risorgimento movement; the struggle between the North and the South and the displacement of the "center of gravity"; the Roman Question in international politics; the early debates on the future of the city; the Tiber and the countryside; the insoluble and the constantly recurrent problems; the Catholics from the opposition to the convergence of interests with the national bourgeoisie; the city of Rome in the Roman Question; the crisis of economic power of the Catholic world after 1870; the intervention of the Catholics and the Vatican in the building speculations and in the finances of the city of Rome; from the building "fever" to the building "crisis"; the governments and communal autonomy; a tranquil capital; industrial agglomeration, and the labor movement; the crisis of the liberal state, including clericals and anti-clericals; the idea and reality of Rome.

This reviewer found Caracciolo's study interesting not only because it presents a global view of the many problems that concerned the formation of the structure of the government once Italy had attained unity and independence, but also because it deals with the history of the political leaders of those decades and with the struggle between the liberal state and the Catholic forces that were closely tied to the Roman Curia, not so much, however, on the political level, but on the administrative and economic levels. There emerges from this study the importance of Rome in Italian life and the fascination it exerted on the politicians before and after unity, its development, and the forces that determined it.

Caracciolo has undertaken a difficult task, for the political and economic life of the young kingdom had serious repercussions on Rome as the capital. Before 1870 Italian leaders had imagined that Rome, the capital, was to initiate a new era in Italian life. This proved to be a delusion. Aside from the psychological value that the annexation of Rome had on Italian public opinion, the author does not believe that it played a dominant role in the process of Italian unification. Rome became nothing but a myth, an ideal center about which the politicians were to organize the united kingdom. True that the Right sought to have Rome become the intellectual and administrative center of the nation, but at the same time it opposed the idea that Rome was to become also the industrial center. The Right did not want to have in Rome an organized industrial proletariat which could some day seriously embarrass the government.

The most interesting and valuable sections of the book are, perhaps, those that deal with the effects which the transfer of the capital to Rome had on the citizenry at large, for Caracciolo traces the speculations that accompanied the physical development of the city and the formation of large financial institutions which had a tremendous influence on the administrative life of the capital. The author believes that after the unification, Rome became the center of these conflicting interests and, as such, the center also of the compromises and agreements that the higher classes were forced into. In all of this, Caracciolo shows that the Roman Curia was close to the vital organs of the new state. To prove his thesis he shows that the Unione Romana was largely responsible for the alliance between the Vatican circles and the more conservative liberals; and it was this alliance that brought on the victory of the clerical-moderate candidates in the administrative elections of 1872. After these elections and for a long time afterward, the votes of the members of the Unione Romana determined the formation of a political majority which supported the agreements that were favorable to certain financial groups tied to the Vatican. During the building crisis that developed in the 1880's, thousands of workers in the building trades were discharged and this resulted in a contraction of investments. The crisis gave rise to the first labor unions which, however, never became as powerful as similar unions did in the north of Italy. The intervention of the government in the crisis saved only huge financial interests which were closely related to the state.

Caracciolo's study suggests many problems that need further study and research, e.g., the influence of the Church in Italy and its participation in the life of the new unified State. Also in need of further investigation is the question of the alliance between the conservatives and the moderate liberals with the Catholics and the powerful influence it exerted against the rise of socialism and the role it played to bring about a reconciliation between the Roman Curia and the State.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

Columbia University

In Hard Times: Reformers Among the Late Victorians. By Herman Ausubel. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 403. $7.50.)

The history of reform and reformers has often been written with a leaden heaviness characteristic of those dismal productions which plague historians under the name of government reports. Not so *In Hard Times.* While many of the late Victorian reformers are often tiresome, Professor Ausubel's treatment of them is delightful, intelligent, and supremely readable. This is due largely to the good sense and sympathetic honesty of his understanding of late Victorian Britain. Yet a large measure of the present achievement comes from the author's careful use of his sources. *In Hard Times* is based almost exclusively on extensive researches into the correspondence of late Victorian reformers found in British and American collections. The quantity alone of this material could overwhelm a less disciplined and less imaginative historian. Professor Ausubel has set an enviable standard, indeed!

In the provocative *The Late Victorians: A Short History* (1955), the author has already presented his interpretation of the broad outlines of late Victorian society. His most telling point was the importance he placed in the immediacy and significance of the great depression in Britain which lasted uninterruptedly from 1873 to 1896. The existence of this depression is a pre-condition for the separate treatment of the late from earlier Victorian reformers. These later reformers could draw on the experience of their predecessors; they could appeal to a newly enfranchised and virtually democratic electorate after 1867; this could be done not only in speeches but also by the written word especially after the Education Act of 1870. But above all, Professor Ausubel argues, the reformers now, ". . . had the business cycle on their side, and this proved to be an inestimable blessing" (p. 16). These reformers had little in common, especially in their vision of the future. But they all were singularly dedicated to transform the society in which they lived into a better world. Not all their programs were successful; not all were even sensible. Many reformers and programs contradicted one another. They were men (and not a few women) of different backgrounds, professions, and differing ideals. Particularly marked, especially among socialists, were personal animosities. This was also true of the "contentious men" who made up the leadership of Irish reformers and politicians to whom the author correctly devotes four of his twenty-one chapters. On the whole, these late Victorians were successful in changing their society significantly. Negatively, no post-Victorian could argue that the comfortable classes remained indifferent nor that the working classes remained entirely apathetic. Mr. Ausubel states well the positive merit of their achievement: ". . . by permeating their society with the broadened definitions of abuses that could be wiped out . . . they helped to enlarge their countrymen's expectations of what was desirable and possible for man in this life" (p. 324). His own achievement lies in telling this story so thoroughly and so well.

JAMES FRANCIS SULLIVAN

Chestnut Hill College

The Shaping of Modern Ireland. Edited by Conor Cruise O'Brien. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 201. $3.50.)

In this collection of essays fourteen contributors analyze the influence of various personalities in the evolution of Ireland from 1897 to 1916. Dr. O'Brien, the gifted author of *Parnell and His Party,* provides, in addition, a provocative historical sketch of these years from the decline of Parnell's power to the rising of 1916. The essays themselves were originally broadcast by Radio Eireann in 1955-1956 as the Thomas Davis Lectures, but most of them have been "somewhat amplified" in book form, according to the editor. Frequent reference is made to events beyond the particular period under review, e.g., Desmond Ryan, in describing the activities of James Stephens, John Devoy, and Thomas J. Clarke, outlines the background of Fenianism. Likewise the participation of men such as Edward Carson and Timothy Michael Healy becomes even more significant when viewed in perspective.

It is understandable that Eamon de Valera is not listed among the subjects treated, but his increasing importance is discussed by Terence de Vere White in an essay on Arthur Griffith. Yeats and William James Pirrie are included, as well as AE, Russell, and Horace Plunkett—to give a suggestion as to the range of selection. For Dr. O'Brien, however, the figure of Douglas Hyde is outstanding: "No man was more fully representative of so many forces in the Ireland of his time." A further idea as to the caliber of the contributors will be gathered in noting Nicholas Mansergh's account of John Redmond and Sir Shane Leslie's thoughtful analysis of the controversial figure of Archbishop Walsh. The editor states, in a foreword, that it was not intended necessarily to present varying points of view, but that the diversity emerged to include: "supporters of each of the major parties, and of smaller parties; an Irish unionist, a Socialist, an old-fashioned constitutional nationalist, a sympathizer with the I.R.A.; Catholics and Protestants, members of Trinity College and University College, Dublin, as well as Queen's University, Belfast."

Michael Collins has been quoted as believing that the formation of the Gaelic League was the most important event for Ireland in the nineteenth century. Dr. O'Brien, after taking into account the various opinions presented in this series, offers the following judgment: "More than the Gaelic League, more than Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein, more even than the Transport and General Workers' Union and of course far more than the movement which created the Abbey Theatre; more than any of these the Gaelic athletic movement aroused the interest of large numbers of ordinary people throughout Ireland."

PAUL R. LOCHER

Neuilly-sur-Seine
France

A Conscience in Conflict: The Life of St. George Jackson Mivart. By Jacob W. Gruber. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 266. $6.50.)

Mivart was one of the lesser figures who took a very vigorous part in the scientific and religious controversies of the Victorian era which centered around Darwin's theory of evolution. He was a proud and arrogant man, believing that he possessed the keys of wisdom and that those who disagreed with him were, in some perverse fashion, sinning against the light. A convert to Catholicism at the age of seventeen, he was one of the founders of modern biology. Was he, in at least one respect, a nineteenth-century Teilhard de Chardin? Mivart always assumed the existence of some ill-defined, guiding agent in nature through whom the process of evolution proceeded upon its predestined path, aided by the knowledge of knowable secondary causes. His combative contemporary, Huxley, insisted upon a complete separation between philosophy and science, demanding a clearly marked frontier to separate the provinces of empirical and metaphysical knowledge and observing that, if the latter intruded upon the former, both would be corrupted.

Mivart was a student of Huxley and attended his lectures "for years." In common with many other gullible souls, he became an early disciple of Darwin and joyfully accepted the view that natural selection was *the* origin of species. It was only by degrees that his laboratory researches forced an opposite conclusion on him. Mivart's basic conception of the evolution of man eventually differed from that of the Darwinians in that it applied only to the structural or physical aspect of man as contrasted with his more important intellectual and spiritual nature which could only be satisfactorily explained through some extra-evolutionary mechanism. Therefore, he set out to prove to his contemporaries that Catholicism was compatible with modern science. He tried very hard to convince the Victorians of the liberality of the Church and, conversely, to convince his fellow Catholics of the respectability of science. By uniting the verities of both science and religion, mankind would attain the truth which was the goal of both.

Huxley published a savage condemnation not only of Mivart's theological and scientific views but of his personal motives as well. He categorically denied that there could be any reconciliation between the new science and theology. Having parted company with the Darwinians, Mivart, toward the end of his life, asserted his private judgment against the authority of the Church. He who had devoted a lifetime to the reconciliation of the new science and Catholicism died rejected by both. Mivart arrived finally at "the lonely kingdom of the free intellect."

Dr. Gruber, associate professor of anthropology at Temple University, has presented a sympathetic and thoroughly documented account of a Catholic scientist who was unable to reconcile two profound loyalties—to science and to the Church—because of his demand for intellectual autonomy, unfettered by either the transitory dictates of Victorian science or Catholicism's absolute system of values. Neither science nor religion permitted Mivart to pick and to choose from each source of truth that which his arbitrary reason demanded.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

Georgetown University

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Essays in American Historiography: Papers Presented in Honor of Allan Nevins. Edited by Donald Sheehan and Harold C. Syrett. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 320. $6.00.)

This *Festschrift* brings together articles written by a number of Allan Nevins' former students, the aim being to survey the historiography of selected episodes in modern American history which have been subjected to varying interpretations over the years. The first essay, by E. N. Saveth, is an exception to this scheme, since it discusses the fate of the "scientific history" concept from the post-Civil War era, when it flowered, down to the present time when the idea has gone into eclipse. Thereafter, the essays deal in succession with the Confederacy, radical Reconstruction, the new South, national politics from the Civil War to World War I, urban history and urban reform movements in that same period, the robber barons, European migration, the evolution controversy, the rise of pragmatism, populism, imperialism and racism at the turn of the century, the muckrakers, revisionism between the two world wars, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The degree of finesse with which the authors execute their tasks varies greatly. Some of the articles offer rather pedestrian recapitulations of the existing literature, with little or no attempt on the author's part to synthesize the material or to present his own conclusions on the significant issues in dispute. Some of the writers go overboard in the opposite direction: expounding their own interpretations but barely mentioning what others have had to say. The best of the authors strike a happy medium by adequately surveying the literature while deftly weaving in their own conclusions—which in a few cases are highly striking or original. The article on Radical Reconstruction by Donald Sheehan stands out in this respect.

Some readers may be disappointed with certain omissions, probably unavoidable, in the subjects covered. Topically, constitutional history is overlooked, and chronologically, the era of the 1920's is absent. Readers who are specialists on the topics that are included will undoubtedly find the handling at times inadequate. This reviewer was disappointed, e.g., with Mark Hirsch's concentration on the Hofstadter "middle-class status revolution" thesis in his discussion of urban reform movements in the Progressive Era, to the neglect of recent studies by Handlin, Mann, and others which are beginning to cast light on the reform contributions of the urban lower-class and its political machine spokesmen in the Progressive years.

Nevertheless, the book makes interesting, if not always sparkling reading. It would be profitable reading for the characteristic undergraduate—whose mind seems to insist that there can be only one "right" interpretation of any historical occurrence. It should be profitable reading also for teachers of American history, serving to bring us up to date with what's being done in fields and on subjects that we all wish we had more time to read about, but which lie outside our special preoccupations. Finally, it may be pointed out that the format of this *Festschrift* constitutes an ingenious method of honoring Allan Nevins. For the number of times that his name, and the names of books he has authored appear, in essays covering a large variety of subjects, is truly remarkable. All of which is a tribute to the breadth of his interests, and of his contributions, in the study of America's history.

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

Georgetown University

Henry Adams and Brooks Adams: The Education of Two American Historians. By Timothy Paul Donovan. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 220. $4.00.)

Although one looks forward to the final volume of Ernest Samuels' biography, it scarcely seems possible that much else remains to be said about the life and thought of Henry Adams. A similar situation would seem to prevail as regards his younger brother, Brooks, thanks to Arthur Beringause's work. Consequently, it cannot be said that Professor Donovan contributes any strikingly original insights in this dual study.

The author devotes most of his attention to tracing the separate searches of Henry and Brooks for historical laws and to exposition of their formulations. Since, however, it is his principal thesis "that the writing of history in America was drastically altered" under the influence of the Adams brothers (p. vii), the final chapter, "The Adamses and American Historiography," is crucial. To this reviewer, the various points advanced in substantiation of this contention seem either highly questionable or insufficiently developed. Mr. Donovan maintains that the decline of American romantic historiography was due in large measure to the publication of the Adamses' laws. But surely more significant here was the introduction of German seminar methods in which, indeed, Henry himself pioneered. Again, he asserts the waning of "purely nationalistic-oriented history" after 1900, holding that the Adamses were—"to some degree"—influential in this trend. It is true that American nationalistic history in the grand manner was largely a nineteenth-century product, but a more subtle nationalistic orientation in historical writing had just begun to make itself felt before the turn of the century owing to the influence of Turner. One of the most interesting suggestions is made in the preface to the effect that "the advance of relativistic historical thought" might not have "come so quickly had it not been for the last great efforts of Henry and Brooks Adams to justify the determinism of the nineteenth century." Unfortunately, though various references to relativism subsequently appear, this implied causal relationship is not established. In short, when Professor Donovan concludes that the Adams brothers were not "overwhelming giants in historiography" and that "their mark was neither indelible nor all pervasive" (p. 190), he himself has come a long way from his prefatory assertion concerning the drastic alteration of American historiography under their impact. This work will not be of great value to scholars. Nevertheless, instructors wishing to introduce their students to the major problems of concern to these two historians can be grateful for this clear and concise presentation.

RAYMOND J. CUNNINGHAM

The Johns Hopkins University

The American Supreme Court. By Robert G. McCloskey. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. x, 260. $5.00.)

Professor McCloskey—who has not yet been lost to Harvard—succeeds in this little book in outlining in a wholly admirable fashion the entire sweep of American constitutional history. His account, one of the topical entries in the Chicago History of American Civilization series, accomplishes with apparent ease what McLaughlin's early classical constitutional history was unable to do. In purpose, coverage, and presentation McCloskey's achievement is so notable that any qualifications to this judgment which may be mentioned below should not obscure the enormous service he has done all students of American constitutional history. Granted that the work is a survey of the work of the Supreme Court, and does not purport to be more, it must still be obvious that most constitutional history textbooks are organized around treatments of the court; with McCloskey's book, such organizations are certain to be clearer, more logical, and more cogently presented.

McCloskey has reduced a mass of materials to manageable proportions within the compass of a deeply perceptive outline, and has presented them in a style clear, compelling, and judicious. He has, furthermore, added to his brilliant essay a bibliographical note which should become a model for all writers of similar treatises. No important constitutional law or history title has been omitted from this note, and no judgment on these materials is expressed which does not seem to be quite accurate, or at least readily defensible.

Forced by the limitations of the series to condense his materials and to avoid documentation, the author refers obliquely or parenthetically to cases and precedents, sums up the contributions of individuals in trenchant phrases, and furnishes at the same time a well articulated framework for additional study. Reducing the Supreme Court's objectives to three—judicial independence, judicial review, and judicial sovereignty—McCloskey gives incisive judgments of Marshall, Taney, Waite, Taft, Hughes, and their associates in eras which he rightly points out cannot simply be called those of nationalist or states'-rightist preoccupation. This volume notes that the first era of the court's history was ended with the Civil War, but that the second—concerned with the protection of property rights—has been replaced by a third, that of the activity of the welfare state. In each of these ages, the court has struggled to retain its place through the exercise of self-restraint or through an insistence on its position as a co-ordinate branch of government. Self-restraint has, paradoxically, been more successful an approach in this struggle.

While it might have been desirable to see some inclusion of treatments of administrative law or of problems included in the acquisition of territories, these omissions do not seriously impair any portion of the book. Somewhat more disturbing than these omissions are faults on the part of the indexer. Aside from these, the book is attractive in type, format, and binding; if it were printed in eighteenth-century italics on yellow flimsy it would still be worth acquiring and reflecting on; for a relatively short essay, this work on the United States Supreme Court may be considered as a major accomplishment.

SISTER MARIE CAROLYN KLINKHAMER

The Catholic University of America

The Federalist Era: 1789-1801. By John C. Miller. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1960. Pp. xv, 304. $5.00.)

This is one of the most recent volumes in the New American Nation Series. The primary emphasis is domestic developments, but foreign affairs are covered in enough detail to portray a complete panorama. A primary consideration in this series is to write both for the beginning student and the scholar. *The Federalist Era* satisfies both these aims. The volume is not only readable, but it is also penetrating. The reader is offered a plethora of documentation which is matched by a comprehensive bibliography to guide further research. A characteristic of this work is the crystallization of the divergent political philosophies during these early years under the Constitution. A sub-title for *The Federalist Era* could well be "Partisan Maneuvering and the Emergence of Political Parties." Hamilton used his position in the Treasury Department to dominate the early years under Washington's administration. Nevertheless, Hamilton experienced rocky sledding when he proposed his financial program. The far-reaching implications of the credit system, especially the National Bank, wrought an irrevocable cleavage between Hamilton and Madison. as well as Jefferson. This fissure soon became polarized.

Miller's brief analysis of Jeffersonian agrarianism has a unique approach. The author interwove an explanation of Jefferson's socio-political philosophy with his objections to Hamilton's financial program. Jefferson's destestation of monarchy and centralized government has been spelled out many times. His visualization of a corrupt, commercial, urban society dominating his idealistic agricultural society soon drove him into the formation of an opposition party.

Perhaps, the salient feature of Mr. Miller's work is the dissection of the Federalist mind. This insight into the philosophical workings of the aristocracy of wealth is admirable. The Federalist distrust of democracy is well known, but the author's depiction of the Federalist temperament during the 1790's is noteworthy. The Federalists recognized the necessity of placating the common man when the Constitution was formulated—by allowing the House of Representatives to be elected by the people. The propertied class, however, was to predominate, especially through the executive branch. The rapid growth of Jeffersonian political power drove the Federalists into a defensive position. As the 1790's wore on, the Federalists became increasingly pessimistic, and accordingly more negative. Although the Federalists did not generally ride roughshod over their opposition, they steadfastly refused to consider giving the common man more power; instead they tried to educate him to accept his station in life. This failure in flexibility was fatal.

By way of summary, *The Federalist Era* should be rated one of the best volumes written so far in the New American Nation Series. It captures the temper of the times and delivers it with insight. This work is an admirable introduction to the period, and it is a worthy successor to the now out-dated volume of the same title by John Spenser Bassett.

RONALD J. OARD

Mount Saint Mary's College
Los Angeles

The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830. By Richard C. Wade. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. 362. $6.00.)

Our ideas of the growth of the trans-mountain West must certainly be focused on the development of culture and economics which stems from various streams and motives which precipitated that growth. Within this framework, Richard Wade's volume presents a significant contribution. Mr. Wade, working under the direction of Professor Arthur Schlesinger of Harvard University, has correlated the factors involved in the urban urge of the first trans-Appalachian Americans by tracing the beginnings and the initial progress of the cities of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, Lexington, and St. Louis. To avoid the often discouraging boredom of chronology, he has developed his work along categorical lines, e.g., economic base, urban society, changing social structure, and urban maturity of these cities, and he includes frequently, the parallel seen in Wheeling and Marietta.

A work of this type, limited in breadth if not in depth, surely presents the author with many rather important decisions to be made regarding subject material and orientation. These Mr. Wade handles well. He makes reference, therefore, only in passing to events which occur on the national scene and these he limits only to matters of extreme pertinence. This, at first, seems a little disappointing to the reader, but the wisdom of the omissions becomes clearer only when the depth of the book is ultimately realized. Likewise, as a corollary, the lack of personalities who are continually a part of the story only becomes reasonable when the reader discovers that the purpose of the book is truly to relate the growth of the cities themselves. To categorize this growth, an enormous amount of local research was required and this is indicated both in the preface where Mr. Wade mentions the many hot and humid summers spent searching sources in the cities of the Ohio Valley and in the extensive footnoting which is to be found in the book itself.

Still one wonders if the speculative historian might not be at least a little concerned regarding not only the contemporary observations concerning these cities by their inhabitants and their promotors, but also, perhaps, the more objective views containing more accurate judgments of the numerous European visitors to this country who visited these blooming cities during these years. The opinions of Alexis de Tocqueville, made just one year after the final year of consideration of Mr. Wade—1831—as he and Beaumont traveled the Ohio and Mississippi from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, visiting extensively in Cincinnati, would surely seem apropos. The calibre of Mr. Wade's book might well be judged by the clarity with which he treats of the complicated and difficult topics of the emergence of urban maturity and urban dimension. His handling of these subjects might well serve as a model for all those who seek to trace the progress of any of our mid-western cities which have grown so fast that a co-ordination of events is generally the almost impossible task of the designated rather than the volunteer historian.

NELSON CALLAHAN

St. John College
Cleveland

The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860. By Louis Filler. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1960. Pp. xvii, 318. $5.00.)

New England abolitionists occupied the center of the stage in the works of the first group of historians who studied the anti-slavery conflict. Hart's *Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841* (1906), Smith's *Parties and Slavery, 1850-1859* (1906), and Macy's *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* (1916) emphasized the importance of Garrison and his followers at the expense of the many abolitionists living outside of New England. In the 1930's Dumond and Barnes turned the spotlight upon the Mid-western abolitionists. Barnes' *The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (1933) contends that Mid-western abolitionists were more practical, effective, and important. Dumond edited the Birney Papers (1938) and teamed up with Barnes to bring forth the Weld-Grimke Letters (1934) in two volumes. Benjamin

Thomas' *Theodore Weld: Crusader for Freedom* (1950) and Betty Fladeland's biography of Birney (1955) continued to emphasize the contributions of Mid-westerners to the abolition movement.

Professor Filler's comprehensive treatment of the anti-slavery crusade swings the pendulum away from the Middle West and back toward Garrison. Filler discredits the thesis (of the Barnes-Dumond school) that the moral crusade had accomplished its work by 1840 and that the anti-slavery movement was taken over by the Birney-Weld junta (p. 155). He attacks Barnes and company as scholars "infatuated with 'hypotheses' at the expense of patent facts" (p. 282). Garrison emerges from Filler's book as the seminal and central figure of the anti-slavery crusade.

Any movement with so many facets and factors presents a problem in organization. Professor Filler admirably blended the chronological and topical material into ten chapters. He links the abolition crusade to the Benevolent Empire, "the social and spiritual experimentation in this age" (p. 108). Filler is a twentieth-century liberal whose sympathies lie with the nineteenth-century reformers—"their consistency and their dedication" (p. 280). He closes his text with these words: "Thus the anti-slavery concert built up a power which raised it from a reform enterprise to a revolutionary movement which has not yet run its course" (p. 280).

The excellent, annotated bibliography covers twenty-three pages, and the many footnotes testify that numerous sources were exploited. Errors of fact are at a minimum (one of the reviewer's two articles cited in a footnote [p. 235] has lost the name of the historical quarterly). The author deserves praise for the breadth and depth of his study. The literary style varies—sometimes Filler writes with verve and at times the going gets heavy. This latest volume in the New American Nation Series will be the standard text for a couple of generations.

FRANK L. KLEMENT

Marquette University

Fortune's Merry Wheel. The Lottery in America. By John Samuel Ezell. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 331. $6.75.)

Lotteries were so much the most favored method of raising money during the early years of American life that this first full account of 'fortune's merry wheel' fills a definite lack among works covering the social history. Myriad is the number of churches, schools, public buildings, roads, bridges, canals, and wharves which were constructed with funds gathered through large and small lotteries. Washington, the Federal City, was improved by way of a series of national raffles, and it was the sale of tickets for this purpose which led to the case of *Cohens v. Virginia* and John Marshall's important decision on state rights. Most of the older colleges—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Brown, Dartmouth, Columbia, Union, Rutgers, William and Mary, North Carolina—benefited significantly from lottery receipts. Large banking houses—Jay Cooke & Company, the First National Bank of New York, the Chase National Bank—developed from lottery establishments; and so notable a figure as the showman, P. T. Barnum, began his career in a raffles office.

Catholics do not seem to have participated as fully as their fellow Americans in the lottery craze, perhaps, because they were fewer in number and (at least in the early days) much less organized. There are records of lotteries for three Catholic churches in Philadelphia, including an unsuccessful $10,000 one for St. Augustine's in 1799. St. Peter's Church in Wilmington, Delaware, ran a $2,000 lottery in 1808, and St. Mary's College in Baltimore benefited from two $30,000 efforts in 1806 and 1808. The Sisters of Charity Hospital in St. Louis conducted a $10,000 private raffle in 1833. But the largest Catholic lottery was that in favor of Baltimore's Cathedral of the Assumption in 1803, with the managers headed by Bishop John Carroll himself—results not specified.

The Quakers opposed the use of lotteries from the beginning, but the fight was a difficult one because a strong argument in favor of raising money by this means was that the more cash gathered through raffles the less taxes would have to be levied. Gradually abuses of the system led to full scale warfare during the general wave of reforms in the 1830's, and state after state passed laws prohibiting lotteries, or even the sale of tickets. There was a brief revival after the Civil War, particularly the enormous Louisiana Lottery, which inspired Cardinal Gibbons to urge his people to work for its abolition. All recent efforts to revive the lottery as a fund-raising device have failed to obtain authorization; since 1895 it has been illegal to ship lottery material in interstate commerce. Polls show, however, that there is now a sizable group of citizens who would favor the use of lotteries under the management of a national agency. The argument is, "People are going to gamble anyway, and some of that money might as well go to the government."

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Rockport, Massachusetts

Frémont's Fourth Expedition: A Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-1849. Edited by LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume XI.] (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1960. Pp. 319. $12.00.)

In the winter of 1848-1849 John C. Frémont, having resigned from military service after a court martial that arose out of his California activities, led a private exploring party into the Rocky Mountains. This was Frémont's fourth expedition to the West, and he hoped to add to the glories of his previous explorations by finding a central route for a Pacific railroad. Thus would he wipe out the humiliation of the army court martial. Instead, the expedition turned into a major disaster. Of the thirty-three men in the party, ten died of cold and starvation in the mountains, and the survivors endured hardships that almost added them all to the list of victims.

Fortunately for the historian of western exploration, numerous accounts of the expedition were written by the surviving participants. The men kept extensive diaries, and a third kept daily notes for a short period. Frémont himself wrote long descriptive letters to his wife and to his father-in-law, Thomas Hart Benton, and other members of the party supplied later reminiscences. The Hafens have gathered these documents together and have added other items—letters from the survivors after they reached safety in New Mexico, early newspaper accounts, statements on the responsibility for the disaster, and miscellaneous short notices of the affair. The volume under review, excellently edited throughout, recounts the whole sad story. The editors provide a summary account of the expedition in their introduction and give the necessary biographical data on the members of the party, but the documents largely speak for themselves, telling a dramatic story of heroism as well as of destruction. Because of the tight unity of the event and the complementary nature of the reports—as well as the skill of the editors—this volume is a readable whole, not just another volume of historical sources. The book, in keeping with the other volumes in the series, is finely printed and contains valuable illustrations and a useful map.

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

Marquette University

Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations. Edited by Mason Wade. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. xxv, 427. $8.50.)

The problem of Canadian dualism is at the center of Canadian history and Canadian political ideas and institutions. Yet surprisingly few Canadian scholars have until recently attempted to grasp the possibilities of their situation or even its real nature. The historians from English-speaking Canada have approached the Canadian past from a British point of view, leaving the unfortunate impression, as often as not, that French Canada has been a troublesome and irritating appendage to a society that ought ideally to be completely British. The *Canadien* scholars have, on the other hand, approached the Canadian past from an austerely nationalist position, arguing that the English seized their country in the

Seven Years War and ever since have been attempting to destroy its distinctive culture. There is much truth in both arguments. There is, however, not enough in either. What both groups have failed to understand is the immense opportunity implicit in a truly pluralist culture. De Tocqueville would have been astonished at this failure to perceive that in such a dualism lies one of the great hopes of continuing liberty in an increasingly egalitarian and conformist world. It is heartening to see the old provincialisms breaking down and to observe the efforts now being made by the best Canadian minds, English and French, to transform the inherent tension in their national situation from negativism and frustration into a creative contribution to modern political thought.

No one, in this reviewer's opinion, has done more to effect this change than Mason Wade, the director of the Canadian Studies Program at the University of Rochester. I suppose, as always, it needed an outsider, an American, to see the Canadian problem in proper perspective. First in his book *The French-Canadian Outlook,* then in *The French Canadians, 1760-1945* (Toronto, 1955) Professor Wade introduced to Canadian and American audiences interested in the complexities of the history of this continent the theme classically stated by Parkman, but since his time almost completely ignored. As editor of *Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations* he has brought together a valuable series of papers initiated by a committee of the Social Science Research Council of Canada under the chairmanship of Jean-C. Falardeau.

The book is divided into four sections which cover the main features of Canadian life and thought in separate topics. Each topic is the subject of two essays, one in French, one in English. The first section is entitled "Abstract Factors" and deals with three questions: social outlook, religion and philosophy, and law. The second section, "Material Factors," is concerned with demographic and economic considerations. Political parties and political beliefs together with labor problems and organization are considered under the general title "Forms of Association." The fourth and final section, "Outside Quebec," examines the changes experienced by the *Canadiens* when they migrate to other parts of the country. It is evident that Canada has experienced and still experiences three strong drives. The first is the deep consciousness of the past that governs the people of Quebec. *Je me souviens* is the motto inscribed on the provincial coat of arms. The second is the cultural orientation of the older elements of English-speaking Canada toward Great Britain with the consequence that the *Canadiens* think of their fellow citizens as *Anglais.* The third, of more recent development, is a developing awareness among Canadians, both French and English, that they constitute a North American nation. The reconciliation of these two historical legacies with the North American fact is the problem that now confronts Canada. To judge from *Canadian Dualism* a good start has been made toward finding an answer. The formulation of the answer had, perhaps, to await the dying out of imperialism with its related phenomenon, nationalism. What remains of the empire no longer arouses, nor does it wish to arouse, the passionate allegiance of 1914 among intelligent Anglo-Canadians; thus a cause of exacerbated *Canadien* feelings has been removed. On the other hand, French-Canadian nationalism in its acute form is subsiding under the impact of the new nationalisms which are so troubling the contemporary world. Canada is a test case, a pilot study, in dualist democracy. Each group should learn, and apparently is learning, to respect the integrity and authenticity of the other rather than desiring that identities be lost in some sort of lowest common denominator. This is the true federalism. Its successful adoption in Europe would go a long way toward ensuring the survival of traditional western civilization. It would be a pity if in Canada, so young, rich, and vigorous and plagued with so few really serious problems, the attempt should fail.

JOHN CONWAY

Harvard University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

At the last annual meeting of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION it was announced that the expenditures were rising more rapidly than the receipts. Before any increase in dues should be determined, however, it seemed advisable to conduct an intensive campaign for new members. Since the results of this drive have been very satisfactory, only a moderate increase is necessary. The Executive Council has decided, therefore, that as of May 1, 1961, the annual dues should be $9 and the fee for life membership $180. The additional money is needed to meet the higher cost of printing (especially since the REVIEW is being enlarged by sixty-four pages a volume) and the greater expense of maintaining the executive office.

On March 17 of this year there was formally opened at Armagh in Northern Ireland what has been called the Patrician Year to commemorate the 1500th anniversary of the death of St. Patrick. On that occasion the celebrant of the pontifical Mass was John Cardinal D'Alton, Primate of All Ireland and Archbishop of Armagh, with James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, Archbishop of Los Angeles, presiding as papal legate and Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, the preacher. Later in the day a symposium was held at which papers were read by three Irish priest-scholars, viz., "St. Patrick and Rome," by Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., of University College, Dublin; "St. Patrick and Ireland," by Patrick J. Corish of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; and "St. Patrick and Armagh," by Thomas J. Fee of the same institution.

The second major phase of the Patrician Year celebrations took the form of a week-long (June 18-25) missionary congress in Dublin under the auspices of the Most Reverend John C. McQuaid, Primate of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin. The papal legate in this instance was Gregory Peter XV Cardinal Agagianian, Prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, and in addition to the legate, five other cardinals were present and presided at one or other of the six evening sessions which were devoted to various phases of the history of Irish missionary endeavor. On the opening night the title of the paper of John Ryan, S.J., of University College, Dublin, was "Patrick: Saint and Missionary." There followed on successive evenings "Ireland and the Apostolic See," by Maurice P. Sheehy, archivist of the Archdiocese of Dublin; "Irish Missionaries in Africa and Asia," by Timothy Connolly, S.S.C., Superior General of the Society of

St. Columban; "Irish Missionaries in the English-Speaking World," which was divided between the Most Reverend Eris M. O'Brien, Archbishop of Canberra and leading historian of the Australian Church, who spoke for Australia and New Zealand, and John Tracy Ellis, professor of church history in the Catholic University of America, whose title was "St. Patrick in North America." The subject, "Irish Missionaries and Europe," was treated by Peter Kasteel, The Netherlands Ambassador to Ireland, and the final session of the congress on Sunday, June 25, heard the Most Reverend Fulton J. Sheen who spoke on "St. Patrick in Our Time." In addition to the principal lecturers there were several other brief addresses each evening by churchmen as well as prominent laymen representing Ireland and eleven foreign countries. Besides Bishop Sheen and Monsignor Ellis, the United States was represented by James A. Farley, former Postmaster General, who spoke on the evening of June 22.

The American Catholic Historical Association commemorated the 1500th anniversary of St. Patrick's death by a session of its annual meeting in New York on last December 30, and the REVIEW will be happy to include in its final issue for 1961 the paper of Robert E. McNally, S.J., of Woodstock College which was read on that occasion.

The 250th anniversary of the death of Eusebio Francisco Kino, the indefatigable Jesuit who founded the first missions in the state, was observed at the second annual Arizona Historical Convention, which was held in Tucson on March 16-18. Historians and writers from the entire Southwest gathered at the University of Arizona to take part in sessions devoted to Indian and Spanish history and art.

The ninth study week sponsored by the Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo was held at Spoleto on April 6-12. Scholars from many European and South American universities treated various problems regarding "Il passaggio dall'antichità al medioevo in Occidente." On the last day, which was devoted to the religious problem, Paolo Brezzi of the University of Naples read a paper entitled "Romani e barbari nel giudizio degli scrittori cristiani dei secoli IV-VI," and Henri Irenée Marrou of the University of Paris spoke on the place of the early Middle Ages in the history of Christianity. Among the lectures delivered in the other sessions the following were also of special interest to church historians: "*Nosce teipsum* du Bas-Empire au Moyen âge. L'héritage profane et les développements chrétiens," by Pierre Courcelle of the Collège de France; and "La Bibbia e i Padri nello'alto medioevo," by Ezio Franceschini of the Catholic University of Milan.

The AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION was represented at the sixty-fifth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, which was held in Philadelphia on April 14-15, by James F. Connelly, professor of church history in St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook. The theme of the meeting this year was "Is International Communism Winning?" George V. Allen, director of the United States Information Agency in the Eisenhower administration; Clarence B. Randell, economic consultant to former President Eisenhower; Clark M. Eichelberger and the Honorable Francis O. Wilcox, who discussed the role of the United Nations, were among the speakers. Professor Arnold J.Toynbee told the delegates that the winner of the ideological conflict between Communism and the West will be the bloc that best satisfies the material needs of the world's underdeveloped nations. Leverett Saltonstall, Senator from Massachusetts, discussed "Western Military Strength and Security," and agreed with the new Administration's policy of "deterrent strength finely balanced between tactical and strategic capability." Father Connelly has reported that the sessions were timely, provocative, and enlightening.

The Institute of Ethnic Studies in Georgetown University held its fourth annual roundtable conference on April 21 and 22. The theme this year was "Colonialism in Mid-Twentieth Century." Dr. Mariemmi G. Wanek of St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg, represented the ASSOCIATION at the session on Saturday.

A symposium in commemoration of the anniversary of the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* was held on May 15 at the Catholic University of America. The Most Reverend Egidio Vagnozzi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, presided and spoke briefly. The moderator for the evening was John F. Cronin, S.S., assistant director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The panel was composed of Joseph N. Moody, professor of history in Ladycliff College, whose topic was "The Historical Aspects of the Great Social Encyclicals"; James P. Mitchell, former Secretary of Labor, who discussed "The Impact of the Encyclicals on the American Economy"; and Patrick W. Gearty, associate professor of economics in the Catholic University of America, who treated the question, "How Can the Doctrine of the Encyclicals Be Made More Effective?"

A meeting will be held in Venezuela (Archdiocese of Caracas) September 15-19, 1961, under the patronage of Joseph Cardinal Quintero, Archbishop of Caracas, and of the Most Reverend Luigi Dadaglio, Apostolic Nunzio to Venezuela, in co-operation with the National Catholic Rural

Life Conference of the United States. The meeting will discuss the problems facing the world, especially those of the land and man's relations to the land. One of the themes to be discussed will be the historical development of land tenure. Among the participants will be Francisco Dorta-Duque, S.J., author of the most complete study on the need for land reform in pre-Castro Cuba, and at present a member of the faculty at West Baden College, Indiana.

Saint Louis University has announced a series of new graduate programs scheduled to begin in September and designed to promote understanding and co-operation between the people of the United States and Latin America, and to meet the desperate need for university teachers there. Regular programs leading to the Ph.D. in economics, education, English, history, philosophy, political science, and sociology will be offered with a minor in Latin American area studies, according to Robert J. Henle, S.J., dean of the Graduate School and acting Vice-President in charge of academic affairs. Father Henle was recently appointed consultant to the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Caracas, Venezuela, and to the inchoate Universidad Centro Americana in Managua, Nicaragua.

Joseph G. Dwyer, Chairman of the Division of Arts in Iona College, has announced that another "arts seminar" will be offered to juniors and seniors in the fall term. Centered on the concept of humanism, the sessions will take up such topics as John of Salisbury, Erasmus, Christopher Marlowe, the Baroque Age in literature, and Boswell's Life of Johnson.

The Guilday Prize, which is given for the master's dissertation judged the best of those submitted each year in the Department of History of the Catholic University of America, has been awarded to Mother Pascal Conforti, O.S.U., of New Rochelle, New York, for her study entitled "The Catholic Center Party in Germany and the Agrarian Movement: 1890-1906."

At the fourth annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs, held on April 15 in Independence, Missouri, the authorization for grants-in-aid to scholars up to $1,000 for each grant and up to a gross amount of $10,000 in a year was renewed. During the preceding year eleven such grants had been issued. Applications for grants-in-aid should be made to the director of the library, Dr. Philip C. Brooks, by October 1 for work to be done in the winter and by April 15 for research planned for the summer.

The *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos,* published by La Editorial Católica in Madrid, reached its 199th volume at the end of 1960 with the completion of a four-volume *Historia de la Iglesia Católica,* one of the best recent syntheses of moderate length. Its authors are three well-known Spanish Jesuit professors of ecclesiastical history: Bernardino Llorca of the University of Salamanca, Ricardo Garcia-Villoslada of the Gregorian University, Rome, and the deceased Francisco Montalban, formerly at Oña. Terminal dates for the volumes are 800, 1303, 1648, and 1951. The work is sound, up-to-date, provided with good bibliographies, and especially useful for its fuller treatment of the Spanish-speaking world. Not the least attractive feature is that the entire set of four volumes, bound in cloth, totaling 4,000 pages, is obtainable for less than $9.00.

The papers delivered at the three-day symposium honoring the centennial of the birth of the famous bibliographer and historian of the Spanish-American world, José Toribio Medina, held at the Pan American Union and the Library of Congress in November, 1952, have been edited by Maury A. Bromsen, executive-secretary of the event. [Dr. Bromsen was decorated at that time by the Chilean government with its Order of Merit in the rank of knight commander for his services to inter-American cultural activities.] This volume of more than 300 pages contains the results of research in the many fields of Americanist studies to which the Chilean, often called "The greatest bibliographer in Christendom," contributed: history, bibliography, geography, numismatics, literature, linguistics, anthropology, natural science, printing and cultural co-operation. The volume may be obtained from Maury A. Bromsen Associates, 195 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston 16, Massachusetts, in bound or paperback editions ($8.50 and $4.00, respectively). A Spanish translation is now being planned by the Pan American Union. The AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION was one of the thirty national and international organizations which sponsored the Medina Centennial Celebration.

Francis J. Weber, a priest of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, is the author of a recent monograph entitled *A Biographical Sketch of the Right Reverend Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno, First Bishop of the Californias, 1785-1846.* This little book (50 pages) assembles about all that is known of the Mexican-born Franciscan friar who was consecrated in October, 1840, at the age of fifty-five for the newly erected Diocese of the Two Californias. Garcia Diego's tenure of his immense jurdisdiction lasted only four and a half years after his arrival at San Diego in December, 1841. He died on April 30, 1846, just two weeks before the American declaration of war on Mexico which led to the cession of upper California to the United States. (Published by Borromeo Guild, 1530 W. 9th Street, Los Angeles 15, for $1.50.)

E. R. R. Green of the University of Manchester plans to publish a collection of letters written by Irish men and women who emigrated to the United States and British Commonwealth countries. The collection will include correspondence from the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Persons who may have such letters in their possession, or who know of the existence of emigrant letter collections, will be doing a favor if they inform Professor Green of such at the Department of History, University of Manchester, Manchester 13, England. After October 1 his address will be the Department of Economics, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, where he will be a visiting professor for the first semester of the coming academic year. He is anxious to receive letters that throw light on religious conditions, especially if written by bishops, priests, or the members of religious orders.

Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Archivist and Curator of the manuscript collections of the University of Notre Dame, returned in May after seven months in Europe where he collected microfilm copies of materials on American Catholic history. The materials, copied from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, cover generally all documents treating of the present territory of the United States from 1622 to 1861. American materials were also copied in several other collections in Rome. Just as soon as positive copies of these materials can be made, they will be available to all qualified scholars. A calendar of the Propaganda materials is being prepared under the direction of Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., Director of the Academy of American Franciscan History. Father Antonine hopes to publish this calendar within two years so that American scholars will then have available not only all the materials from the Propaganda archives, but also a printed calendar and guide to them.

William Starke Rosecrans, noted Civil War general and convert, is the subject of a biography by William Lamers of Milwaukee. Publication is scheduled for September, 1961, by Harcourt, Brace & Company.

All the articles in the latest issue of *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (Jahrgang LI [1960], Heft 2) are devoted to Philip Melanchthon, the fourth centenary of whose death was observed last year. Clyde L. Manschreck of Duke University treats "Melanchthon and Prayer"; Wilhelm Maurer of the University of Erlangen has contributed "Studien über Melanchthons Anteil an der Entstehung der Confessio Augustana"; his share in the Reformation in Pomerania is discussed by Robert Stupperich of the University of Münster in Westphalia; and the part played by the famous theologian in the "Studienordnung für die hessischen Stipendiaten" has been investigated by Gerhard Müller of the University of Marburg/Lahn.

Arizona Highways devotes its issue for March, 1961, to Eusebio Kino (1645-1711), famed Jesuit missionary of the American Southwest, in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of his death. This periodical is remarkable for the high quality of its color photography, and this number is no exception. A number of photographs, mostly in color, recall scenes in Father Kino's career. Ted de Grazia, famous painter of this region, contributes four original paintings, one of which (a portrait of Kino) forms the front cover. Edwin J. McDermott, S.J., of Brophy College Preparatory School, Phoenix, provides a description of the missioner's apostolate (pp. 6-29), and Donald Page has an article on "The Burial Place of Father Kino" (pp. 30-35).

The International Augustinian College in Rome has commenced publication of a new periodical entitled *Augustinianum,* which will appear three times a year. Although the journal will specialize in studies pertaining to St. Augustine and in the fields of philosophy and theology, it will also allot considerable space to church history. In fact, in the first number, dated April, 1961, the very first article is a scholarly investigation of North African monasticism from the fifth to the seventh century: "Vita Monastica in Africa Septentrionali—Desiitne cum invasione Wandalorum?" by John J. Gavigan, O.E.S.A. E. Hendrikx, of the same Order, has contributed a profound essay under the title, "Die Bedeutung von Augustinus *De Civitate Dei* für Kirche und Staat." Among the book reviews are sections for church history and patrology. The subscription price is $5 a year, and the address is Via S. Uffizio, 25, Roma (640), Italy.

Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, organ of the Bureau of Archives of the Province of Quebec, has resumed publication with an issue for the first three months of 1961 (Volume LXVII, Number 1). Among the articles offered is a study in colonial church history, "Mgr. de Laval et la menace Iroquoise," by André Vachon. Antoine Roy, editor of the bulletin, has announced that the missing numbers will be published in the near future.

The latest number of *Carmelus* (Volume VII, Fascicle 1, 1960) contains a series of studies concerning the pastoral problems of the Church throughout the world. The article on the United States is a comprehensive treatment divided chronologically, geographically and ethnically. From the whole ensemble one can gain, as the editor, Irenaeus Rosier, O. Carm., states in the foreword, "a more or less representative idea of the difficulties and expectations inherent today in the announcement and realization of the gospel message among peoples of a very divergent sort and of a very different historical background."

After bearing for a century and a quarter the title, *Dublin Review,* the quarterly, which is the oldest Catholic periodical in Great Britian, has changed its name to the *Wiseman Review.* A widespread but mistaken impression that the publication treats largely of Irish affairs and interests is said to have been a major factor in impelling the alteration. Since its inauguration in 1836 the review has always been published in England and directed to English readers.

Most of the contents of Volume XLVIII of United States Catholic Historical Society's *Historical Records and Studies* is given over to the edition by Sister M. Matilda Barrett, S.L., of "The Memoirs of Father William Joseph Howlett" (pp. 18-166). It is a work of very real value for the history of American Catholicism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Howlett was born in Monroe County, New York, in 1848 and during his life which was terminated only in January, 1936, he was an observer of a great number of interesting happenings between New York, Colorado, where he lived a good portion of his priestly life, and Kentucky, where he served during his last twenty-three years as chaplain of the motherhouse of the Sisters of Loretto.

On June 29, 1461, Pius II canonized Catherine of Siena. To mark the fifth centenary of this event *Life of the Spirit* for April (Volume XV, Number 178) contains three articles on the saint herself and one on the humanist pope who raised her to the altars. A lecture on "The Spirit of St. Catherine of Siena" by Kenelm Foster, O.P., stresses her "love of Christ as the truth." Sebastian Bullough, O.P., offers a study entitled "Catherine the Dominican." An interesting comparison of the fourteenth-century tertiary with a nineteenth-century English member of the Third Order of St. Dominic, Margaret Hallahan, is presented by Sister Mary Catherine, O.P. J. H. Whitfield concludes the series with "Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini."

Roger Aubert, editor of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* and professor of history in the Catholic University of Louvain, has published an address that he delivered at Bologna in 1958, which traces the development in the present century of Catholic periodicals dedicated *ex professo* to ecclesiastical history, prescinding, for reasons of space, from the still larger number of publications which share this topic with others: "Un demi-siècle de revues d'histoire ecclésiastique," in *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,* XIV (1960), 173-202. At the beginning of this century, it is pointed out, Protestant journals, mainly in German, pre-empted the field; Catholic ones justifiably ranked in much lower esteem. A change began in 1900 with the inauguration of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* which soon gained the international reputation it still maintains. Succeeding decades witnessed a vigorous growth of other Catholic publications in numbers, scope, and stature. The principal ones, including the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, are noted, along with comments on their areas of specialization and competence.

Up to World War I their articles tended to concentrate on Christian antiquity, but with preoccupations quite different from those of today. Chiefly their concern focused on textual and literary criticism, and on the apologetic aspect of problems. Mediaeval and modern subjects have since come into their own. Religious orders have obviously devoted major attention to their own past in the mounting total of periodicals under their auspices. Since World War II Catholics have started many new publications, which display special zeal for patrology, liturgy, Byzantine and Slavic history, scientific missiology, and religious orders. Several limit themselves to national or local topics.

Especially since 1918 it is the Catholic journals which have most forged ahead. One index is the paucity of new Protestant enterprises, limited to little beyond *Church History* and the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* the latter having Catholic representation on its editorial board. In scholarship, too, Catholic contributions have won recognition on all sides. This changed situation is ascribed to the scientific progress noticeable in Latin lands; to the keener pursuit of certain topics like the history of scholasticism or the liturgy which engage mainly Catholics; and to the multiplication of periodicals put out by religious orders, a situation which cannot be duplicated in Protestantism.

Many good observations are sprinkled through the article. One of them sounds a warning lest the inflated quantity of Catholic historical journals deflate their quality. Canon Aubert recommends that religious orders attend more to the careful editing of documents and to bibliography. One might wish that he had also expressed his opinion on a problem discussed at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1960, in New York during the session on historical book-reviewing, etc., the monopolizing of more and more space in scholarly periodicals by reviews of the ever-increasing flood of worthwhile books, thereby narrowing the outlet for articles.

Charles W. Arnade, a visiting professor of history this year at the State University of Iowa, participated in the Latin American conference held at Grinnell College in March. Dr. Arnade has recently received a grant that will enable him to write a one-volume history of Bolivia during the coming academic year.

Anselm Biggs, O.S.B., who has taught history at Belmont Abbey College for several years as well as at the Catholic University of America during summer sessions, has been appointed dean of studies of the college.

Maria Edlinger of the University of Innsbruck, visiting Fulbright professor at Marquette University during the 1960-1961 academic year, will spend the 1961-1962 term as a member of the University of California (Davis) faculty.

Astrik L. Gabriel, director of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, has been elected councillor of the Mediaeval Academy of America.

Francis X. Grollig, S.J., of the Department of History, Loyola University, Chicago, is preparing a study on the Mayan Indians of Huehuetenango, Guatemala. This is being developed out of primary source materials he collected in his year's stay in the highlands (1958). Two papers on this topic were presented at the Thirty-Fourth International Congress of Americanists (Vienna, 1960), and are in press in the proceedings of the congress. Currently Father Grollig holds a Fulbright research grant for six months' work in Peru, beginning in June. There he will study the elements of the community life of the Aymara Indians.

Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., longtime chairman of the Department of History in Marquette University, has been named to the new position of university archivist.

Edward E. Y. Hales, author of a number of books in the history of modern Catholicism, the latest of which is *Revolution and Papacy, 1769-1846* (Garden City, New York, 1960), has been named education counselor of the British Embassy in Washington. After finishing at Gresham's School at Holt, Norfolk, Mr. Hales attended Oriel College, Oxford, from

1927 to 1930 and took first class honors in modern history with his A.B. degree, and received the master's degree from Oxford in 1936. After serving for a year as assistant secretary for education for the County of Northampton and four years as sixth-form history master at Uppingham School, he then joined H. M. Inspectorate at the Ministry of Education in London in 1939 and in 1945 was appointed staff inspector of history, an office which he retained up to the time of his appointment to Washington. Mr. Hales has been a frequent visitor to the United States, having taught history at Yale University from 1931 to 1934, and in 1949 having made a three-month tour of this country as a fellow of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to study the teaching of international affairs in American schools and colleges. He became a convert to the Catholic Church in 1949.

John B. McGloin, S.J., archivist and associate professor of history in the University of San Francisco, has been elected president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Society of Church History. The branch itself was organized at the same meeting by thirty-five historians from several northern California public and private universities and colleges as well as representatives from Catholic and Protestant seminaries of the Bay Area. At this formative session Robert I. Burns, S.J., assistant professor of history in the University of San Francisco, read a paper. Father McGloin will preside at the meeting next spring, when the national group will assemble in Berkeley.

Sister M. Martine, O.S.F., assistant professor of history in Alverno College, Milwaukee, has been awarded a Fulbright grant for one year of study abroad in affiliation with the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan. Sister Martine proposes to do research on the origins of Christian Democracy in Italy and its impact on the Catholic social movement, the "Opera dei Congressi," especially during the years 1900-1914. Her doctoral dissertation at Saint Louis University is a study of the political theory of Romolo Murri, one of the early leaders of the Christian Democratic movement.

Sister M. Orestes, O.S.F., head of the Department of History in Holy Family College, Manitowoc, Wisconsin, was elected vice president and member of the board of directors of the Manitowoc County Historical Society on April 18 at a special meeting for re-organization. At the same time Sister M. Thomas More, O.S.F., also of the faculty at Holy Family College, was elected to a place on the publications committee. The Manitowoc County Historical Society is the oldest association for local history in the State of Wisconsin.

On March 18 Fredrick B. Pike, professor of history in the University of Notre Dame, presented a paper on the crisis in United States-Latin American relations at the University of Illinois conference on "Challenge to American Foreign Policy."

Robert E. Quirk, of the Department of History in Indiana University, has been awarded a SSRC grant and will spend the coming academic year in Mexico, completing research for his study on the Church and the 1910 Revolution.

Roman Smal-Stocki, of Marquette University, president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, presided at the World Congress of Free Ukrainian Scholarship, last March 17-19, in New York City, and delivered two addresses at the sessions.

John K. Zeender, associate professor of history in the Catholic University of America, has been appointed a member of the Fifth Regional Selection Committee for the Woodrow Wilson Fellowships.

Bosco D. Cestello, O.S.B., professor of church history in St. Vincent Seminary, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, died on March 25 at the age of forty. Father Bosco received his undergraduate and seminary training at St. Vincent, graduating in 1950 and being ordained four years later. He took the master's degree at the Catholic University of America, where he majored in the history of the American Church. His dissertation was published under the title, "James Whitfield, Fourth Archbishop of Baltimore: The Early Years, 1770-1828," in *Historical Records and Studies* (XLV [1957], 32-78). Father Bosco had gathered a considerable amount of material on the Baltimore administrations of Archbishops Ambrose Maréchal and Whitfield and intended to write a full biography of the latter as well as several articles on Maréchal. He was also active in the American Benedictine Academy and had recently published in its *Review* a bibliographical essay on *Benedictina*. At the same time he served as research cataloguer in the library of St. Vincent College and had almost completed the cataloguing of the library of Bishop John J. Wright of Pittsburgh, which contains the most extensive collection of books on St. Joan of Arc in the United States.

BRIEF NOTICES

Aveling, Hugh, O.S.B. *Post Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire, 1558-1790.* (York: East Yorkshire Local History Society. 1960. Pp. 70. 5s.)

With the intensive study of local Catholic recusant history still in its infancy, this modest pioneering proposal, a "preliminary study of only a part of the available materials," stands as an example and an incentive for future work. The brochure is divided into four periods: 1) 1558-1578; 2) 1578-1600; 3) 1600-1660; 4) 1660-1790; the first two periods mark the years before and after the coming of the seminary priests and Jesuits; the latter two deal with the consolidation, growth, and transition of Catholic recusancy. Two appendices deal with the incidence of Catholic recusancy and the manuscript sources for East Yorkshire Catholic recusant history.

The opening pages dispel any vague notions concerning "the completeness and revolutionary nature of this astonishing change" (of Elizabeth's). By the 1570's East Riding numbered only forty recusants, the same East Riding that had given such a strong lead to the north in the Yorkshire Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, an area that had produced a St. John Fisher and was soon to bear nine more martyrs now beatified. After 1578 the number of adult recusants steadily rose and by 1600 they reached to 200, and almost all of these were associated in some way with the gentry, an association to be maintained for the next two centuries. The flowering of the English Counter Reformation after 1610 yielded "a 'white' martyrdom—a remarkable spiritual movement, characterized by an abundant literature of devotion, many religious vocations, and foundations of . . . English religious houses abroad." The story of Mary Ward of Ripon is, perhaps, best known here. The year 1620 marked the beginnings of official residences for the Jesuits, the Benedictines, and the Franciscans in the Yorkshire area. After 1660 the instability and gradual disintegration of the gentry class caused the number of Catholic recusants to drop as low as 437 in 1735; it climbed back to 865 by 1780, due mainly to the general population increase and some conversions. Leonard T. Dosh

Bozeman, Adda B. *Politics and Culture in International History.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 560. $10.00.)

Professor Bozeman is not in the camp of the cynics who proclaim that all we learn from the lessons of history is that we never learn from history. Through an analysis of the intellectual and political crises that have arisen from the meeting of diverse civilizations, the Sarah Lawrence professor demonstrates how international affairs are still affected by the ancient myths and realities of history.

We have now been engaged in the so-called cold war for a dozen years, and we know many things today that we did not know when it began. Mrs. Bozeman believes that we could know more, that our vision could be broadened by a comprehension of the disparate structures of politics and culture in civilizations—both past and present. "Only when one knows what meanings a particular nation has traditionally attributed to such prominent words in the current international vocabularly as peace, war, unity, authority, and freedom, or what other values and institutions, not included in this dictionary, it has recognized as major structural principles, can one test with any hope of accuracy the authenticity and worth of presently existing international arrangements and assumptions."

This is a far-ranging volume, moving as it does from the ancient Near East and India, through the imperial systems of China and Rome, the rise of Christianity and Islam, to the world society of today. But it is constantly didactic, focusing always on the universality and wholeness of history, on the indivisibility of all human experience. It is a required book for students of international relations. JOSEPH F. SINGER

BRUNDAGE, JAMES A. *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia. A Translation with Introduction and Notes.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 262. $5.00.)

This chronicle offers the most extensive and most important narrative source for the German conquest of the east-Baltic littoral (notably Livonia and Estonia) in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The conquest forms a major chapter in the German mediaeval *Drang nach Osten,* and Henry's account is a good source for the kind of crusading psychology that characterized it. Teachers of mediaeval eastern-European history who have been plagued by the shortage of translated contemporary texts to give their students should find this book pre-eminently useful. It would have been more useful still if a map had been included. Mr. Brundage's translation is based on W. Arndt's edition in the *Monumenta,* and he includes many of Arndt's elucidating notes. (But on p. 69, n. 69, read Innocent III for Innocent II.) The translation is readable, and a spot check showed it to be accurate. It is unfortunate that no one caught the grammatical slip in the book's dedication where the editor offers his work *uxori suo.* DAVID HERLIHY

Carman, Harry J. and **Arthur W. Thompson.** *A Guide to the Principal Sources for American Civilization, 1800-1900, In the City of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. xlviii, 453. $10.00.)

This volume is, as the authors say, the "chronological successor" to Greene and Morris whose compilation ends at 1800. It will be of inestimable value to researchers and an essential tool to historians. The manuscripts are classified by topic, ranging from general and political through architecture and boundary disputes and on to sports and the theatre. An index of names has been added for the reader interested in a specific person. As the authors point out in the introduction this guide "aims to be comprehensive rather than all-inclusive." As in an anthology, many will wish that certain items had been included. David Cronin's five volumes of letters written by his comrades in the Mounted Rifles during the Civil War, and now in the library of the New York Historical Society, are not listed, though the letters of Robert Leonard are. This is a subjective reaction, however, and almost any reader will find some of his favorites omitted. As is to be expected with so many entries a few errors have crept in. Oakey Hall, the dazzling Mayor of New York, is referred to as Oakley (pp. 76, 77, 78, 189, 348). On page 186 Dr. Samuel Bard is pluralized. These very minor slips are noted only to point out the high standard of accuracy in a book that will elicit gratitude from all interested in nineteenth-century America. BASIL LEO LEE

Cronin, Kay. *Cross in the Wilderness.* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, Ltd. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 255.)

This volume is the story of the pioneer Oblate Fathers in British Columbia. It is not, as Miss Cronin candidly says, "a history book. Rather, it is a series of stories highlighting the outstanding personalities and events involved in that history. And it was written for the man in the street, not the historian . . ." She worked for two years collecting material before she attempted to write. Then, admitting that it would take some ten to fifteen years completely to research the history of the Oblate Fathers in this province, she simply and informally set down the story.

With these points in mind, the reader may move along to become acquainted with the Oblate missionaries, to admire their courage and their daring in establishing themselves on the Pacific Coast, to sympathize with their sufferings, and to rejoice in their success. For success did come to reward the costly efforts of the first five Oblates—Ricard, Chirouse, Blanchet, Pandosy, Verney—who, in answer to repeated requests for aid from the missionary bishops, Francis Norbert Blanchet and his brother, Augustine, were commissioned by their superior, Bishop Charles E. de Mazenod, to work among the Indians of the Northwest. Other missionaries were sent to assist, schools were established, new churches built. In 1864, Father Louis D'Herbomez, O.M.I., was consecrated first Vicar Apostolic of British Columbia. The story is carried on from pioneer beginnings to the end of the nineteenth century and closes with an epilogue which in summary presents the position of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in present-day Canada. The book is generously illustrated with pictures of individuals and of places; it has a fair bibliography and an index. It seem a worthy volume to commemorate the centennial of the Oblates' service to the Province of British Columbia, "a book with a bit of life in it—human, honest, easy to read." SISTER LETITIA MARY LYONS

DE PAOR, MÁIRE and LIAM. *Early Christian Ireland.* (London: Thames & Hudson; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. 1960. Pp. 264. $6.50.)

This is another volume in the series Ancient Peoples and Places. The authors, husband and wife, both bring to the book long experience in archaeological excavation. Liam de Paor began as an architect and was later drawn to early Irish history and archaeology, while Máire worked as assistant to the late Professor O'Riordan of University College, Dublin, and the book is dedicated to his memory.

The beginning chapter on Ireland and Rome stresses the fact that while Ireland never submitted to Roman rule, it was later to surrender to Rome in the more humane area of letters and religion. Tacitus had himself told how his father-in-law, Agricola, had longingly gazed upon Ireland as an island that could be taken by one Roman legion without any bloodshed. But he changed his plans and the one country of western Europe which did not succumb to Roman rule was later to preserve for all of western Europe that culture at a time when barbarian hordes had all but vanquished it. The chapter on monastic foundations includes a sketch of the ground plan of the famous monastery of Sceilg Mhichil off the west Kerry coast. St. Michael the Archangel as patron of high places was wisely chosen as the patron for this rocky pinnacle. The Irish monasteries are stressed as schools of piety and learning, as well as the training ground for European-bound missionaries. Chapter III on the life of the people describes the social system from the evidence of the Old Irish law tracts which laid down in minute detail the rights and privileges of each grade of society. The art of the country is studied both in the manuscript illumination and in the architecture of the Irish crosses and the carved

Romanesque churches; a map showing the remains of such buildings gives a good idea of their wide distribution. Detailed studies in line drawings of letters from the Book of Kells, and the ornamented chalices, reliquaries, croziers, etc., show a fusion of Norse and Irish traditions. The book concludes with a bibliography and a series of plates. A colored reproduction of a page from the Book of Durrow serves as frontispiece. This is the first work devoted to a general over-all picture of Irish culture and includes an account of archaeological finds of the past quarter century. It comes up to the high standards of the series in every way and serves as a corrective to the over-idealized account given by Joyce in his *Social History of Ancient Ireland* (Dublin, 1913). ROBERT T. MEYER

DROWER, E. S. *The Secret Adam: a Study of Naṣorean Gnosis.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 123. $4.00.)

Reawakened interest in Gnosticism as a result of the Choenoboskion library discovery in Egypt has made this latest book of Lady Drower particularly timely. In it she develops a synthesis of the esoteric teaching of the Mandean priestly caste in Iraq as she understands it. The manuscript documentation for this has been in large part secured and published by the patient and prolonged efforts of Lady Drower herself; and in any historical or comparative-religions evaluation of ancient Gnosticism, the materials which she has thus provided are equally indispensable with the more widely publicized Egyptian ones.

The basic outline of the system is presented thus: "the Hidden or Secret Adam is an emanation from the Great Life which appeared in the shape of Man and of material men who later appeared on earth . . ." "In and by him [the Secret Adam] they ["sublimated humanity"] pass upward into 'worlds of light' and eventually, with him, into the final union with the Absolute which is above human imagination" (p. 105). A necessary means to this sublimation is a series of sacramental acts, the precise execution of which is the obligation of the priestly caste. This ritual system and the interpretation placed upon it is, perhaps, the most explicit contribution of Mandean studies to our appreciation of Gnosticism as a way of life; it is a living testimonial, however belated and adapted, to a set of circumstances alluded to only obscurely by our documentation from Egypt and from the early Christian writers. The synthetic sketch involves, of course, some excursions into the comparative and historical fields. Lady Drower's concept of eastern Christianity is bizarre (notes on pp. 69, 78); and the Semitic etymologies for various terms suffer from more than the hazards of the Mandean dialect. That the term Naṣorean can be utilized to pinpoint the historical origins of the Mandean group requires more sifting of the evidence. PATRICK W. SKEHAN

DUHEM, GUSTAV, GEORGES GROS, SIMON LIGIER, ANDRÉ RODOT, BERNARD DE VREGILLE. *Saint Claude: Vie et présence.* (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1960. Pp. viii, 197. 11.10 N.F.)

This little volume on St. Claude is well named, for if the details of his life are obscured in the haze of Merovingian historiography, his spiritual influence has a long and glorious history. Obviously this is a labor of love by five scholars whose devotion is equalled only by their historical acumen. For their task was, indeed, formidable. The first two lives of the saint were written over 500 years after his death, the few facts alleged present serious chronological difficulties, and the *coup de grace* is the discouraging revelation that there was not even a popular or liturgical devotion to St. Claude for an even longer period. It is with a singular fortitude that these specialists address themselves to this tenuous and sensitive problem in local hagiography. The two "lives" are translated from the *Acta Sanctorum* with full critical apparatus and literature, and some forty-eight pages are filled with miracles attributed to the intercession of St. Claude.

From the scientific point of view the second chapter of Father Bernard de Vregille, S.J., on the history of the saint is the core of the work. Here is critical methodology at its best: the dates of his life, his abbacy, and his episcopacy are only the major questions. The problem is of gigantic proportions, and giants are there to do battle: Henschensius, Papebroch, Mabillon, Holder-Egger, Delisle, Duchesne, among others, and the sources read like a review of mediaeval bibliography: *Acta Sanctorum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Gallia Christiana, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum.* Mediaeval hagiography is, of course, a special study, but this chapter is an object lesson in historical methodology, expert, objective, exhaustive. And through it all St. Claude continues to occupy a high place in the hearts and prayers of the faithful. ALBERT C. SHANNON

ECCLES, W. J. *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor.* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd. 1960. Pp. ix, 406. $6.50.)

This volume is a new attempt to assess the real merits of M. le Comte Louis Buade de Frontenac. The first biography was Francis Parkman's *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (1877), and the second Henri Lorin's *Le comte de Frontenac* (1895). The author was right in thinking, therefore, that the "lapse of time and the advances made in historical methods during these intervening years seemed to be justification enough." Mr. Eccles is very modest when he states: "It will be quickly apparent to the reader that the present work is not a full-scale biography of Frontenac, nor is it a complete study of the history of New France under his government. . . . This work pretends to be a reappraisal and a point of departure for future studies. . . ." This is quite true; yet for readers who are not professional historians, and even for historians who are not specialists in the period, the book will be very helpful.

Nothing glorious for Frontenac comes out of this work. On the contrary, Frontenac is shown to have been much more a 'courtier' than a 'governor.' Champigny, Callières, *et al.* appear in a much better light. The vexed question of the liquor trade with the Indians is explained objectively. The French born in Canada, i.e., the French Canadians, are well portrayed, with their independent spirit, uncompromising ways, aggressive individualism, and their decided frontier mentality. Mr. Eccles is correct when he says:

> They were a unique product of their racial temperament and their environment; quarrelsome, impulsive, quick to resentment, headstrong, with amazing powers of endurance, sometimes cruel; but yet generous, with an easy-going attitude toward life and, from all accounts, possessed of a native courtesy and dignity that impressed everyone newly arrived from the Courts of Europe.

A century after Frontenac's time, James Murray, Sir Henry Carleton, and other English governors would have to deal with these tough *habitants.* An historical work which projects light not only on the past but also on the future is certainly of real value. ARTHUR MAHEUX

GORDON, C. D. *The Age of Attila* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1960. Pp. xix, 228. $3.95.)

The primary purpose of this work is further to elucidate the difficult political history of the fifth century by presenting in a consecutive narrative the still extant fragments of five little used and less known Greek historians who are contemporary to the events they describe. The five are: Olympiodorus of Thebes whose excerpts cover the first years of the century 407-425; Priscus of Panium for the years 433-474; Malchus for the years 473-480; Candidus the Isaurian for the last decade and Joannes Antiochenus who, although not a contemporary, draws entirely upon first-hand sources when narrating events of the fifth century. The works of all these historians have been lost. The fragments that remain to us have been gathered from subsequent historians, notably Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and Photius. They can be found in the several collections of Byzantine writers. Gordon uses Dindorf and Muller. Hence in the *Age of Attila* we have for the first time in English all that these five Greek historians have to tell us about the catastrophic fifth century which saw the end of the empire in the West, the movement of vast groups of peoples, the seating and unseating of emperors, the beginnings of the new West, and the realignment of policy and power in the old East. Associate professor of classics at McGill University, Mr. Gordon is well equipped for the task of translating these five minor historians. He presents us with a clear, readable text. By a judicious arrangement of the fragments and the interposition of his own summaries to span the gaps or clarify obscurities he has created a continuous narrative from the death of Theodosius the Great to the conquest of Italy by Theodoric the Ostrogoth (395-493). We are indebted to Mr. Gordon for making these primary sources available to a wider audience. CASSIAN J. YUHAUS

GRANDI, DOMENICO and ANTONIO GALLI. *The Story of the Church*. Translated and edited by John Chapin. (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. Hanover House. 1960. Pp. 336. $4.95.)

Monsignor Grandi and Father Galli have presented a popular history of the Catholic Church from her wonderous entrance into the affairs of the world to the present day. They have also included in their appendix a brief synopsis of each of the ecumenical councils, including the awaited Vatican II. They have traced rather sketchily each era of the long history of the Church. Unfortunately, their concise synthesis has at times obscured rather than helped their work. The result might appear to some to resemble a mere compilation. The authors find little space to analyze the central themes, the great ideas, the philosophical and theological controversies, which helped to make the Church great, and at times slowed her progress in this world. The reader might also desire a more unified and orderly presentation, e.g., in the chapter entitled "The Conversion of the Barbarians," the authors drift into a treatment of monasticism, baptism, the Mass, the patrimony of St. Peter, and even the Christian art of that period. On the other hand, the importance of the conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip of France is practically skipped.

Scholars will find many factual errors in this work. One glaring mistake which directly concerns the American Church is the authors' mention that Pope Pius XII appointed Cardinal Mooney as head of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, "but the cardinal died before being able to begin this work" (p. 297). The obvious reference is to the late Cardinal Stritch. However, this work is not meant for use as a textbook, much less for scholars. Its merit lies in its simple and concise presentation for those who like to do some light reading in the history of the Catholic Church. To them it may be recommended. JAMES F. CONNELLY

HALPERIN, S. WILLIAM (Ed.). *Some 20th Century Historians. Essays on Eminent Europeans.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xxiv, 298. $5.95.)

Eleven European historians are the subject of this volume which is dedicated to Bernadotte Schmitt by some of his former students at the University of Chicago. Like a similar work edited by Professor Schmitt in 1942, it will be a welcome source of information about the historians whom the authors have selected for their consideration. Most of these essays are quite readable. Five of the subjects of the study have completed their allotted years and of the others, only one was born later than 1886. This fact, and the nature of this volume, coupled with the great and tragic events of our time, which a number of these historians experienced in a very personal way—such as Pirenne, Valentin, and Eyck—seem to make many of the essays call one to a more distant past than is actually the case.

The choice of subjects is limited to western Europe, consisting of one Belgian, four English, four Frenchmen, and two Germans. It is good to see an essay on Trevelyan as a continuing reminder that history can be beautiful. The present interest in and the ever-fleeting search for a philosophy of history is ably represented by a study of Butterfield's thought. The value of interdisciplinary studies is pointed up in the work of Febvre. And the solid quality of diplomatic history is apparent in the surveys of Webster and Renouvin. This book makes one realize again the continuing lack of a successor to Gooch's superb study of nineteenth-century history and historians. There is evidence of a wide use of these historians' works and of contemporary judgments on them, but in at least one essay there is an overly generous sprinkling of foreign and technical phrases. There is no index. CHRISTIAN CEPLECHA

HEYMAN, MAX L. JR. *Prudent Soldier: A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby, 1817-1873.* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1959. Pp. 418. $11.00.)

During the course of his thirty-nine years in the United States Army, Edward R. S. Canby saw service in the Mexican, Indian, and Civil Wars, as well as tours of duty as a military governor in Louisiana, the Carolinas, Texas, and Virginia during the Reconstruction period. His activities reflected the problems of a growing nation, but there was no "adequate memoir" of him. This deficiency has now been remedied by Dr. Heyman of Los Angeles Valley College. But since little in the way of manuscript material relating to Canby has survived, it was necessary for the author to place a heavy reliance on official correspondence in order to trace the general's career. His task was further complicated by the fact that Canby was rarely criticized, and was apparently without enemies in the army. The result of all these factors is that in Heyman's book Canby the officer comes through clearly, but Canby the man is harder to grasp.

Canby's most important work was probably that done in connection with the administration of civil affairs under martial law. This reviewer considers as the best in the book the chapters which deal with the illicit trade between the North and the South, the Negro, and with the Reconstruction in Louisiana. Canby also deserves to be remembered for his efforts to secure fair treatment for the Indians. Death came to him at their hand while he was attempting to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Modocs. This sacrifice gave Canby the dubious distinction of being the first general officer of the United States Army to be killed by Indians. Unfortunately, his murder did little to further the policy of wisdom and restraint toward the red man.

This book is a fine tribute to Canby's life and work. It will be of value to students of military history, as well as to those interested in the American West and in the Reconstruction era. Civil War devotees will enjoy the chapter on the struggle for New Mexico. The usefulness of this volume is enhanced by maps, illustrations, a bibliographical note, an index, and by footnotes printed at the bottom of the pages. Mention should also be made of the use of a splendid rag paper and of large type. Yet it is not likely to reach as large a part of the above-mentioned audience as it deserves, due to its being published in an expensive limited edition.
HAROLD D. LANGLEY

HUNTER, WILLIAM A. *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758.* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1960. Pp. xi, 596. $5.00.)

This is the story of the first ventures into the area of military preparedness by the people of a colony dedicated to the principle of nonviolence. The author divides the history of Pennsylvania's frontier forts into three phases, and treats the first two of them in this work. Phase one began in 1753 when the French and the Virginians built forts on the western limits of Pennsylvania to protect their occupation of the upper Ohio Valley. Two years later, when Pennsylvania undertook the building of forts in its own southeastern area, phase two began. By the early part of 1758 the province was operating fifteen posts, and had a military force of 1,400 officers and men. No sooner was the system established than it became a burden to the people of the colony. Pennsylvanians were both unwilling and unable to wage a defensive war on their own initiative. They were content, therefore, to let the British assume the problems of offense and defense in the French and Indian War. This transfer of the forts marked the beginning of phase three.

According to Mr. Hunter, Pennsylvania's brief experience in matters of defense had a lasting effect. It led to an acceptance by its people of the need for a military establishment. A large number of its citizens gained at least a smattering of military experience, and some of these later served in the Revolution. It also gave the political leaders in the eastern settlements of the province a clearer recognition of the fact that the back country was a region of distinctive characteristics. The book is based largely on primary sources, and it contains a bibliography, an index, and maps and illustrations. It will be of interest mainly to students of military history and of colonial Pennsylvania. HAROLD D. LANGLEY

LYON, BRYCE. *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1960. Pp. xix, 671. $7.50.)

It has long been the complaint of teachers of English constitutional history that they have lacked a serious, up-to-date textbook adapted to the needs of American students. The late Professor Carl Stephenson suggested to the present author that he write such a textbook, which would avoid the simplifications of general surveys and the technicalities of more specialized works. It was a happy suggestion, for Mr. Lyon has successfully steered a middle course and, in so doing, has produced what merits to be, for some time to come, the standard American college textbook on the subject. The author presents this volume (may I join the chorus of reviewers who bemoan the high prices of textbooks in appealing to the ingenuity of our publishers to produce such books in less expensive format?) as a companion to *Sources of English Constitutional History,* edited by Stephenson and Marcham, in order to introduce the student early to the *fontes historiae,* albeit in translation. Reference to the documents of the sourcebook are given as each document is discussed in the text.

In general, Mr. Lyon follows the six-fold division of the companion volume: Anglo-Saxon Period; Norman Kings; Henry II and His Sons; Edward II, Edward III, and Richard II; Houses of Lancaster and York. A political map prefaces each of these parts (there is no table of maps!). The parts are of fairly equal length and each has chapters on the sources (narrative and non-narrative), the political history, the central administration, local government, and the law. Where required, supplementary chapters have been added, e.g., on Norman feudalism, Angevin Church and State, and Magna Carta. Besides a general bibliography covering the entire field, each part has a select bibliography, which contains many items by American scholars which are not always found in British bibliographies. The index is quite adequate.

The author has not attempted to present new opinions, but, in keeping with the nature of the book, has set out the best opinions of modern scholarship. The meaning of Magna Carta and the origin of representative parliament are discussed historiographically. In general, the book is quite well balanced—some teachers may find the discussion of Magna Carta too long—and presented without any attempt to create artificial distinctions purely for the sake of pedagogy. American orthography has been adopted. Mr. Lyon has succeeded in solving the problems connected with the perilous task of rendering his subject into American English, although this reviewer would have preferred the English word "clerk" when it refers to ecclesiastics to have been translated into American as "cleric." This book is a well constructed bridge between the specialized monograph and the cursory study. Mr. Lyon has given to the serious student an excellent introduction to the mediaeval English constitution and a solid basis for further study. F. DONALD LOGAN

NADEAU, REMI. *Los Angeles from Mission to Modern City.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc. 1960. Pp. xv, 302. $5.95.)

As a popular, easy to read, and fairly comprehensive picture of the growth of Los Angeles this book has some merit, particularly in its emphasis on local history which has been neglected in the West and needs to be emphasized. The first part of the volume dealing with Los Angeles in the nineteenth century is preferable to the second half which examines the more contemporary scene and is overly polemical and chauvinistic. Water, electricity, petroleum, transportation, the movie industry, local politics, the bombing of the Los Angeles *Times,* racial tensions, and smog are all examined by Nadeau with varying degrees of perception. The author depicts some of the unfortunate aspects of zealous boosterism in Los Angeles history and yet, by too flagrant praising of the city's achievements, himself falls victim to some of the very excesses he describes. Nadeau offers, e.g., as partial evidence in refuting the charge that Los Angeles is a cultural wasteland, the annual Tournament of Roses in Pasadena. He further overstates his case when he writes, "money inevitably breeds culture; in the tradition of Venice and Amsterdam, the businessmen of Los Angeles have liberally sponsored the sciences and the arts."

Mr. Nadeau asserts in the introduction to his book that it is "not a fictionalized biography. Every episode described, every conversation recorded, is documented in historic records—practically all of them primary sources and many not heretofore used." This may well be, but the book is written in a popular, journalistic style with no footnotes and a rather casually cited three-page bibliography, which sometimes tells where sources are found but omits naming the specific ones used, or else, citing by name the author, but not the particular work consulted. These criticisms apply to scholarly readers who are obviously not the audience for which the work was written, though the publisher's blurb on the dust jacket states that the book, "should take a leading place among the chronicles of America's development." On the basis of what Mr. Nadeau has produced such an aspiration is wishful thinking. KNOX MELLON, JR.

ROLAND, CHARLES P. *The Confederacy.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 218. $3.95.)

This volume is another example of the outstanding scholarship evident in the Chicago History of American Civilization series. The author has presented an excellent account of the birth, rise, and ultimate fall of the Confederacy. Within the 244 pages Mr. Roland has produced in an easy flowing and readable style a broad yet intimate story of the Confederacy. Discussing Confederate foreign affairs, the author describes the importance of King Cotton diplomacy. Within the government itself the ever-present problem of states rights continued to haunt the South's leaders. In listing the reasons for the ultimate downfall of the Confederacy Mr. Roland forcefully concludes that both the failure of foreign diplomacy and the inherent states rights' disagreements played major roles in the defeat. Along with the over-all problems connected with the formation of a new country, Mr. Roland pays tribute to the ability of the southern people to wield together a nation that did exist for some four years at a terrific expenditure of their personal sacrifice. At the same time, the author includes sketches of the more prominent civil and military leaders and presents the bickering and dissension that existed among the leaders.

The book does not attempt to bring any new reasons for the short-lived success of the Confederacy nor any particular one reason for the South's final defeat. Mr. Roland has produced a truly objective history, and the volume satisfies the demand for a short concise survey of the life of the Confederacy. There are sufficient maps to explain the major theaters of war, a few photographs to enliven the text, and several pages of suggested readings. There is an index. ALOYSIUS PLAISANCE

Römische Historische Mitteilungen. 2 Heft. 1957/58. Herausgegeben von der Abteilung für Historische Studien des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom und der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. (Graz—Köln: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1959. Pp. 298.)

In this volume there are several articles of interest to specialists in different periods of European history. In a learned study of Italian mendicant churches, Renate Wagner-Rieger concludes that the mendicant orders while possessing "representative" churches never developed a pure style of their own, choosing to rely upon local tradition, imitation of Cistercian practice, and southern French models. Othmar Hageneder uses the case of Innocent III's dispute with Duke Andrew, heir to the throne of Hungary, as the basis for a closely reasoned treatment of the distinction the great pope made between the political intent and consequences of an excommunication and an anathema. Owing to a misreading of the key document in this case, scholars have, according to Hageneder, wrongly concluded that excommunication led directly to loss of the right of succession.

Andreas Cornaro throws interesting light on Hapsburg family relations in his article on the attempts of Cardinal Bernhard of Cles, ambassador of Ferdinand I to his brother Charles V, to influence the emperor in his brother's favor in the dispute between Ferdinand and John Zapolya over Hungary. The cardinal's correspondence nicely points up the conflict of political interest between the two royal brothers, with Cardinal Granvelle, Charles' chancellor, trying to placate Zapolya so that the emperor could concentrate his full resources against France. It is noteworthy that the four diplomatic agents involved in the negotiations were all churchmen.

Although he has not revised earlier interpretations of the treaty of 1864 between France and Italy over the Roman Question, Norbert Milo has added worthwhile details to our knowledge of that abortive agreement. His material is especially good on the ingenuity used by the Italian government, wasted though it was, to secure an agreement which would leave open the road to Rome once the French troops had been withdrawn. It also underscores the painful position of Napoleon III who knew the eventual outcome of the Roman Question and suffered from the disabilities imposed on French diplomacy through its defense of the temporal power, but who found it necessary for political reasons to uphold the Convention to the bitter end in 1870. JOHN K. ZEENDER

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

GENERAL

Konstantinische Wende? Eine Reflexion über Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenzukunft. Hugo Rahner, S.J., (*Stimmen der Zeit,* Mar., 1961, pp. 419-428).

Lo storicismo nel pensiero contemporaneo. Discussione. Arnaldo Momigliano—Pietro Rossi (*Rivista Storica Italiana,* Mar., 1961, pp. 104-132).

Grundfragen der neueren deutschen Geschichte. Zum Problem der historischen Urteilsbildung. Th. Schieder (*Historische Zeitschrift,* Feb., 1961, pp. 1-16).

Edmund Burke's View of History. John C. Weston (*Review of Politics,* Apr., 1961, pp. 203-229).

Burke (1729-1797) o el desquite de la Historia (Ensayo de síntesis). Jean Jacques Chevallier (*Revista de Estudios Politicos,* July-Aug., 1960, pp. 31-47).

De Saint-Paul à Jean XXIII. Daniel-Rops (*Revue des Deux Mondes,* Apr. 15, and May 1, 1961, pp. 577-594; 36-54).

Byzantium and the Roman Primacy. Francis Dvornik (*American Ecclesiastical Review,* May, 1961, pp. 289-312).

The Significance of the Christianization of Poland in European History. Oscar Halecki (*Polish Review,* Winter-Spring, 1961, pp. 3-18).

The Origin of the Anaphora of the Liturgy of St. Basil. W. E. Pitt (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Apr., 1961, pp. 1-13).

De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe. Témoignages antérieurs au XI^e siècle. Baudouin de Gaiffier (*Analecta Bollandiana,* Tomus LXXIX, Fasc. I-II, 1961, pp. 40-59).

Un martyrologe de Saint-Géréon de Cologne. Maurice Coens (*Analecta Bollandiana,* Tomus LXXIX, Fasc. I-II, 1961, pp. 65-90).

The Knights of the Maltese Cross. Edith Simon (*Horizon,* Mar., 1961, pp. 48-71).

Inventario dell'Archivio "storico" della S. Congregazione "de Propaganda Fide" (I). Nicola Kowalsky, O.M.I. (*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft,* Heft 1, 1961, pp. 9-23).

El Colegio Augustiniano de Valladolid, centro de acción misionera. Máximo Mateos, O.S.A. (*Missionalia Hispanica,* Sept.-Dec., 1960, pp. 249-277).

Die Universitäten vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert im Dienste der Glaubensverbreitung. Joh. Beckmann, S.M.B. (*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft,* Heft 1, 1961, pp. 24-47).

Patristic Renewal: A Current Survey. Polycarp R. Sherwood, O.S.B. (*American Benedictine Review,* Mar., 1961, pp. 63-96).

The History of the Church from 1300 to 1648: A Survey of Research, 1955-1960. Edward D. McShane, S.J. (*Theological Studies,* Mar., 1961, pp. 59-85).

Major Volumes and Selected Periodical Literature in Luther Studies, 1956-1959. John Dillenberger (*Church History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 61-87).

Writings on Oliver Cromwell since 1929. P. H. Hardacre (*Journal of Modern History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 1-14).

The Weber Thesis Reexamined. Winthrop S. Hudson (*Church History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 88-99).

Excavaciones en la Catedral de Santiago [de Compostela]. José Guerra (*La Ciencia Tomista,* Jan.-Mar., 1960, pp. 97-168).

ANCIENT

I rescritti di Traiano e di Adriano sui cristiani. Marta Sordi (*Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,* Sept.-Dec., 1960, pp. 344-370).

La personalità dello scrittore Ippolito. Agostino Amore, O.F.M. (*Antonianum,* Jan., 1961, pp. 3-28).

Les Actes des martyrs d'Aurélien en Bourgogne. Étude littéraire. Joseph van der Straeten (*Analecta Bollandiana,* Tomus LXXIX, Fasc. I-II, 1961, pp. 115-144).

Der primicerius Mauricius. Heinz Bellen (*Historia,* Apr., 1961, pp. 238 247).

Vestales et vierges chrétiennes dans la Rome antique. R. Schilling (*Revue des Sciences Religieuses,* Apr., 1961, pp. 113-129).

St. Martin and the Monastic Ideal. Pierre Minard, O.S.B. (*Pax,* Spring, 1961, pp. 6-13).

Lo stato degli studi intorno alla origine della Quaresima. V. Peri (*Aevum,* Sept.-Dec., 1960, pp. 525-555).

St. Augustine and Pelagius as Religious Types. C. B. Armstrong (*Church Quarterly Review,* Apr.-June, 1961, pp. 150-164).

Die Bedeutung von Augustinus "De Civitate Dei" für Kirche und Staat. E. Hendrikx, O.E.S.A. (*Augustinianum,* Apr., 1961, pp. 79-93).

Vita Monastica in Africa Septentrionali. Desiitne cum Invasione Wandalorum? J.-J. Gavigan, O.E.S.A. (*Augustinianum,* Apr., 1961, pp. 7-49).

Saint Léon le Grand et la cité romaine. C. Lepelley (*Revue des Sciences Religieuses,* Apr., 1961, pp. 130-150).

St. Patrick's Missionary Methods. William Henry Scott (*International Review of Missions,* Apr., 1961, pp. 137-148).

The Myth of the Second Patrick. Francis Shaw (*Studies,* Spring, 1961, pp. 5-27).

The Institution of the *Benai Qeiama* and *Benat Qeiama* in the Ancient Syrian Church. Arthur Vööbus (*Church History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 19-27).

MEDIAEVAL

De middeleeuwse monastieke cultuur. P. Declerck (*Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses,* 1961, No. 1, pp. 24-45).

Die Infamie im Strafmittelsystem der westgotischen Kirche. G. May (*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie,* Band 83, Heft 1, 1961, pp. 15-43).

La consécration des vierges dans l'église franque d'après la plus ancienne vie de sainte Pusinne (VIII^e-IX^e siècle). René Metz (*Revue des Sciences Religieuses,* Jan., 1961, pp. 32-48).

Church Property on the European Continent, 701-1200. David Herlihy (*Speculum,* Jan., 1961, 81-105).

Zur Überlieferung der monastischen Gesetzgebung Ludwigs des Frommen. Joseph Semmler (*Deutsches Archiv,* Jahrgang 16, Heft 2, 1960, pp. 309-388).

The Old English Benedictine Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 190, and the Relations between Aelfric and Wulfstan: A Reconsideration. Peter Clemoes (*Anglia,* Band 78, Heft 3, 1960, pp. 265-283).

Cluny et la querelles des Investitures. Th. Schieffer (*Revue Historique,* Jan.-Mar., 1961, pp. 47-72).

Die Überlieferung der Schriften Ruperts von Deutz. Rhaban Haacke (*Deutsches Archiv,* Jahrgang 16, Heft 2, 1960, pp. 397-436).

Las Cruzadas en la historiografia española de la época. Traducción castellana de una redacción desconocida de los "Anales de Tierra Santa." Alfonso Sánchez Candeira (*Hispania,* Tomo XX, No. LXXX, 1960, pp. 325-367).

St. Adalgott (+1160), ein Schüler des hl. Bernhard und Reformbischof von Chur. Iso Müller, O.S.B. (*Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis,* Jan.-June, 1960, pp. 92-119).

The Canonization of Edward the Confessor. Bernhard W. Scholz (*Speculum,* Jan., 1961, pp. 38-60).

The Tree of Jesse Window of Chartres: *Laudes Regiae*. James R. Johnson (*Speculum,* Jan., 1961, pp. 1-22).

Zur Biographie Joachims von Fiore und Rainers von Ponza. Herbert Grundmann (*Deutsches Archiv,* Jahrgang 16, Heft 2, 1960, pp. 436-546).

Historical Aspects of the Reconstruction of Reims Cathedral, 1210-1241. Robert Branner (*Speculum,* Jan., 1961, pp. 23-37).

La Rencontre de Saint François d'Assise et de l'Islam. F. Basetti-Sani (*La Revue Nouvelle,* Apr. 15, 1961, pp. 352-356).

Frederick II and the Church in the Kingdom of Sicily 1220-1224. James M. Powell (*Church History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 28-34).

Il primitivo Breviario francescano (1224-1227). Giuseppe Abate, O.F.M. Conv. (*Miscellanea Francescana,* Jan.-Sept., 1960, pp. 47-240).

The Fifteenth of 1225. Fred A. Cazel, Jr. (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* May, 1961, pp. 67-81).

The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Citeaux (II). Joseph F. O'Callaghan (*Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis,* Jan.-June, 1960, pp. 3-59).

Los judíos del Reino de Mallorca durante los siglos XIII y XIV (Conclusión). Antonio Pons (*Hispania,* Tomo XX, No. LXXX, pp. 368-540).

The So-called Statutes of John Pecham and Robert Winchelsey for the Province of Canterbury. C. R. Cheney (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Apr., 1961, pp. 14-34).

La misión del obispo de Senez al reino de Castilla (1354-1355). José Zunzunegui Aramburu (*Anthologica Annua,* Vol. 8, 1960, pp. 11-42).

John Wyclif and the Tradition of Biblical Authority. William Mallard (*Church History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 50-60).

Fasciculi Zizaniorum I. James Crompton (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Apr., 1961, pp. 35-45).

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Sociologie du Concile de Bâle. P. Ourliac (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* Vol. LVI, No. 1, 1961, pp. 5-32).

The Problem of Papal Primacy at the Council of Florence. Martin Anton Schmidt (*Church History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 35-49).

Fray Hernando de Talavera. Un aspecto de su personalidad. Olegario González Hernández (*Hispania Sacra,* Jan.-June, 1960, pp. 143-174).

La Reforma de los Premonstratenses españoles del siglo XVI. José Goñi Gaztambide (*Hispania Sacra,* Jan.-June, 1960, pp. 5-96).

Reforma y estudio de Teologia en los Franciscanos españoles. Melquiades Andrés Martín (*Anthologica Annua,* Vol. 8, 1960, pp. 43-82).

Programa de gobierno del P. Francisco de Quiñones, Ministro General, O.F.M. (1523-1528). Juan Meseguer Fernández, O.F.M. (*Archivo Ibero-Americano,* Jan.-Mar., 1961, pp. 5-51).

Thomas More's Use of Humor as a Weapon of Religious Controversy. Rainer Pineas (*Studies in Philology,* Apr., 1961, pp. 97-114).

Les évêques français au milieu du XVI^e siècle. J. Lestocquoy (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France,* Tome XLV, No. 142, 1959, pp. 25-40).

Gesang und Musik im Dienst der alten indischen Jesuitenmissionen (ca. 1542-1580). J. Wicki (*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft,* Jan., 1961, pp. 15-30).

The Calvinists and the Question of Dancing in the 16th Century. H. P. Clive (*Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* Tome XXIII, 2, 1961, pp. 296-323).

San Carlos Borromeo y sus relaciones con el episcopado ibérico postridentino, especialmente a través de Fray Luis de Granada y San Juan de Ribera. Ramón Robres Lluch (*Anthologica Annua,* Vol. 8, 1960, pp. 83-142).

Epistolario del beato Benedetto Passionei d'Urbino. Ludovico da Ostra, O.F.M. Cap. (*Collectanea Franciscana,* Tomus 31, Fasc. 2, 1961, pp. 176-217).

Intorno al cardinale Ottavio Paravicino, a Monsignor Paolo Gualdo e a Michelangelo da Caravaggio. Gaetano Cozzi (*Rivista Storica Italiana,* Mar., 1961, pp. 36-68).

MODERN

La relazione d'Armenia di Mons. Azaria Friton, O. P. [1604]. Graziano di S. Teresa (*Ephemerides Carmeliticae,* Annus XI, Fasc. 2, 1960, pp. 416-449).

Hampton Court Conference and it Aftermath. Mark H. Curtis (*History,* Feb., 1961, pp. 1-16).

The Dalmatian Apostate [Marc'Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato]. Joseph Crehan, S.J. (*Theological Studies,* Mar., 1961, pp. 41-58).

Venerable Mary of the Incarnation. Mary Denis Mahoney (*Month,* May, 1961, pp. 261-276).

San Vicente de Paúl y la Compañia de Jesús (II). José Maria Román Fuentes, C.M. (*Razón y Fe,* Apr., 1961, pp. 399-416).

La publication officielle de la bulle *In eminenti* (1651-1653) (suite et fin). L. Ceyssens, O.F.M. (*Augustiniana,* Dec., 1960, pp. 365-423).

A propos d'un tricentenaire. Comment fut accordée aux protestants la permission de tenir un synode national en 1659, à Loudun. René Toujas (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France,* Tome XLV, No. 142, 1959, pp. 41-62).

Abbot Jean Petit of Citeaux and the Strict Observance. Louis Lekai, S.O. Cist. (*Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis,* Jan.-June, 1960, pp. 120-142).

La *Conferenza dei Concili* a *Propaganda Fide.* Pio Paschini (*Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,* Sept.-Dec., 1960, pp. 371-382).

Les canons de Sardique et les Libertés Gallicanes. Pierre Blet (*Recherches de Science Religieuse,* Jan.-Mar., 1961, pp. 37-67).

Europe et chrétienté. Idée chrétienne et gloire dynastique dans la politique européenne au moment du siège de Vienne (1683). Victor-L. Tapié (*Gregorianum,* Vol. XLII, 2, 1961, pp. 268-289).

The Seven Bishops and their Petition, 18 May 1688. Roger Thomas (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Apr., 1961, pp. 56-70).

Prophecy and Messianism in the Works of Antonio Vieira. Robert Ricard (*Americas,* Apr., 1961, pp. 357-368).

L'oeuvre de François Malaval. A. Vander Perre (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* Vol. LVI, No. 1, 1961, pp. 44-62).

The Congregation of the Oratory in France in the Late Seventeenth Century. H. G. Judge (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Apr., 1961, pp. 46-55).

Francisco de Solís, obispo intruso de Ávila. Justo Fernández Alonso (*Hispania Sacra,* Jan.-June, 1960, pp. 175-190).

Die Missions-Konstitutionen der Pii Operai aus den Jahren 1709 und 1735. Andreas Sampers (*Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris,* Vol. VIII, Fasc. 2, 1960, pp. 303-321).

Prima S. Alfonsi palaestra missionaria: Sodalitium neapolitanum Missionum Apostolicarum. Raymundus Tellería (*Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris,* Vol. VIII, Fasc. 2, 1960, pp. 393-452).

Tria manuscripta circa vitam S. Gerardi Maiella. Gaspar Caione and Iosephus Landi. Edited by Nicolaus Ferrante and Andreas Sampers; introduction by Iosephus Löw (*Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris,* Vol. VIII, Fasc. 2, 1960, pp. 181-300).

Santiago de los Españoles y la Archicofradía de la Santísima Resurrección en Roma hasta 1754. Justo Fernández Alonso (*Anthologica Annua,* Vol. 8, 1960, pp. 279-329).

Gianlorenzo Berti Agostiniano (1696-1766). Benigno van Luijk, O.E.S.A. (*Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,* Sept.-Dec., 1960, pp. 383-410).

El Seminario conciliar de San Fernando, de Orense. Emilio Duro Peña (*Hispania Sacra,* Jan.-June, 1960, pp. 97-116).

The Education of Eighteenth-Century English Monks. Hugh Aveling (*Downside Review,* Spring, 1961, pp. 135-152).

Sulla condanna dell' *Esprit des lois* e sulla fortuna di Montesquieu in Italia. Mario Rosa (*Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,* Sept.-Dec., 1960, pp. 411-428).

El Tribunal de la Rota de la Nunciatura de España. Su origen, constitución y estructura. Constantino García Martín (*Anthologica Annua,* Vol. 8, 1960, pp. 143-278).

Notitiae de primis Missionibus in Helvetia, an. 1828-1833. Aloisius Czech and Michael Neubert (*Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris,* Vol. VIII, Fasc. 2, 1960, pp. 347-390).

La Rétractation de Talleyrand. II Léon Noël (*Revue des Deux Mondes,* Mar. 1, 1961, pp. 76-88).

First Redemptorist Missions in Ireland, according to Father Joseph Prost's diaries, an. 1851-1854. Edward Hosp (*Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris,* Vol. VIII, Fasc. 2, 1960, pp. 453-485).

La situation politique du second empire et du royaume de Sardaigne en 1857 vue par un chanoine savoyard, J. Croset-Mouchet. M. Hudry (*Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,* Sept.-Dec., 1960, pp. 429-442).

Contributo all'epistolario di Alessandro Gavazzi. Pietro Dinelli (*Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento,* Oct.-Dec., 1960, pp. 569-573).

Lord Acton y el catolicismo liberal en Inglaterra. R. Olivar Bertrand (*Revista de Estudios Politicos,* May-June, 1960, pp. 85-125).

Notizie sul primo movimento cattolico. Il Consiglio di Permanenza Italiano e il duca Salviati. R. Orfei (*Vita e Pensiero,* Feb., 1961, pp. 101-109).

Vladimir Soloviev and Bishop Strossmayer. Ante Kadic (*American Slavic and East European Review,* Apr., 1961, pp. 163-188).

Aux sources des mouvements spirituels de l'Eglise Orthodoxe de Grèce: II. Eglise et Etat au XIX^{e} et au XX^{e} siècle. (*Istina,* Apr.-June, 1960, pp. 133-152).

AMERICAN

Un reformador de Indias y de la Orden franciscana bajo Felipe II: Alonso Maldonado de Buendía, O.F.M. Pedro Borges, O.F.M. (*Archivo Ibero-Americano,* Jan.-Mar., 1961, pp. 53-97).

Cristóbal Carbrera on the Missionary Methods of Vasco de Quiroga. Ernest J. Burrus (*Manuscripta,* Feb., 1961, pp. 17-27).

The Franciscan Missionary Plan for the Conversion to Christianity of the Natives of the Austral Lands as Proposed in the Memorials of Fray Juan de Silva, O.F.M. Celsus Kelly (*Americas,* Jan., 1961, pp. 277-291).

Las Misiones Capuchinas de Cumaná [Venezuela]. Buenaventura de Carrocera, O.F.M. Cap. (*Missionalia Hispanica,* Sept-Dec., 1960, pp. 279-360).

The History of New France According to Francis Parkman. W. J. Eccles (*William and Mary Quarterly,* Apr., 1961, pp. 163-175).

La bibliothèque du Collège des Jésuites. Antonio Drolet (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française,* Mar., 1961, pp. 487-544).

Mgr. de Laval et la menace Iroquoise. André Vachon (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* Jan.-Mar., 1961, pp. 36-46).

Denonville et ses captifs iroquois (1 ere partie). Jean Leclerc, S. J. (*Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française,* Mar., 1961, pp. 545-558).

Navigation Methods of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. Ronald L. Ives (*Arizona and the West,* Autumn, 1960, pp. 213-244).

Survey: European Archival Resources for the Study of California Catholic History. John Bernard McGloin, S.J. (*Church History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 103-105).

Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California. R. Louis Gentilcore (*Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Mar., 1961, pp. 46-72).

D. Blas Ostolaza, Rector del Seminario de Trujillo, Diputado a Cortes, Capellán de Fernando VII, Victima del Liberalismo. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J. (*Revista de Historia de América,* June, 1960, pp. 121-145).

Bolívar y Pio VIII. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María, S.I. (*Revista de Historia de América,* June, 1960, pp. 147-170).

A California Gold Rush Padre: New Light on the 'Padre of Paradise Flat.' John B. McGloin, S.J. (*California Historical Society Quarterly,* Mar., 1961, pp. 49-67).

The Beginnings of Nativism in California. Leonard Pitt (*Pacific Historical Review,* Feb., 1961, pp. 23-38).

Slavery in Brazil as Described by Americans, 1822-1888. Manoel Cardozo (*Americas,* Jan., 1961, pp. 241-260).

Letters from the Dakota Frontier: II [Sister M. Mathilda Cattani, O.S.B. (1883-1887)]. Teresa Schuster, O.S.B. (*American Benedictine Review,* Mar., 1961, pp. 97-130).

Segregation in Indiana During the Klan Era of the 1920's. Emma Lou Thornbrough (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* Mar., 1961, pp. 594-618).

Images of Religion in America. Jerald C. Brauer (*Church History,* Mar., 1961, pp. 3-18).

CONTEMPORARY

Die Action française 1899-1944. Ernst Nolte (*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* Apr., 1961, pp. 124-165).

Loubet's Visit to Rome and the Question of Papal Prestige. M.J. M. Larkin (*Historical Journal,* Vol. 4, No. 1, 1961, pp. 97-103).

Graf Berchtold und der Weihnachtsaufruf Papst Benedikts XV. Hartmut Lehmann (*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* Apr., 1961, pp. 178-181).

Hitlers Verhandlungen mit der Zentrumsführung am 31. Januar 1933. Rudolf Morsey (*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte,* Apr., 1961, pp. 182-194).

Zur Vergegenwärtigung der Lage des deutschen Katholizismus 1933. Ernst Deuerlein (*Stimmen der Zeit,* Apr., 1961, pp. 1-23).

Cardinal Bourne: A Centenary Tribute. E. E. Reynolds (*Wiseman Review,* Spring, 1961, pp. 4-14).

Il "Cavaliere dell'Immacolata" P. Massimiliano M. Kolbe, O.F.M. Conv. (1894-1941). Lorenzo Di Fonzo, O.F.M. Conv. (*Miscellanea Francescana,* Jan.-Sept., 1960, pp. 3-46).

Pio XII e gli ebrei di Roma 1943-1944. R. Leiber, S.I. (*La Civiltà Cattolica,* Mar., 1961, pp. 449-458).

Pius XII und die Juden in Rom 1943-1944. Robert Leiber, S.J. (*Stimmen der Zeit,* Mar., 1961, pp. 428-436).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Ainsworth, John (Ed.). *The Inchiquin Manuscripts.* (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1961. Pp. ix, 749. L3 3 0.)

Albright, Raymond W. *Focus on Infinity. A Life of Phillips Brooks.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1961. Pp. xiv, 464. $4.95.)

Aubert, R., and E. Van Cauwenbergh (Eds.). *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques.* Fascicule 84: *Égérie-Elne.* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané. 1961. Pp. 255. Prix 20 NF.)

Azoy, A. C. M. *Charge! The Story of the Battle of San Juan Hill.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc. 1961. Pp. ix, 182. $3.95.)

Baur, Chrysostomus, O.S.B. *John Chrysostom and His Time.* Vol. II: *Constantinople.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 488. $6.75.)

Baynes, N. H., and H. St. L. B. Moss (Eds.). *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xxxi, 436 [48 maps, plates]. $2.25.) [Oxford Paperbacks #16.]

Bellinger, Alfred R. *Troy: The Coins.* (Supplementary Monograph 2.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 200 [Plates 27]. $17.50.)

Bloch, Marc. *Feudal Society.* Translated from French by L. A. Manyon. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xxi, 498. $8.50.)

Bohner, Charles H. *John Pendleton Kennedy: Gentleman from Baltimore.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1961. Pp. x, 266. $5.50.)

Bolloten, Burnett. *The Grand Camouflage: The Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. 1961. Pp. 350. $6.50.)

Borden, Morton (Ed.). *America's Ten Greatest Presidents.* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 1961. Pp. 269.) A paperback.

Bowle, John. *Western Political Thought. From the Origins to Rousseau.* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1961. Pp. xi, 482. $1.95.) [University Paperbacks.]

Bowsky, William M. *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City-State, 1310-1313.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 301. $5.25.)

Brown, Robert McAfee. *The Spirit of Protestantism.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 264. $4.50.)

Buchberger, Michael. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche.* Volume V. (New York: Herder Book Center, Inc. 1960. Pp. 1383. $22.50.)

Buisson, Ludwif. *Potestas und Caritas: Die päpstliche Gewalt im Spätmittelalter.* [*Forschungen zur Kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht.* Band 2.] (Köln: Böhlau Verlag. 1958. Pp. xi, 448.)

Burrus, Ernest J., S.J., and Felix Zubillaga, S.J. *Francesco Javier Alegre, S.J.—Historia de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus de Nueva España.* Tomo III: *1640-1675;* Tomo IV: *1676-1766.* [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.J., Vols. XVI, XVII.] (Roma: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1959; 1960. Pp. xxvi, 502; xxx, 663. $6.00 per two volumes.)

Caillet-Bois, Ricardo R. *Archivo del Brigadier General Juan Facundo Quiroga.* Volume II: *1821-1822.* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires. 1961. Pp. 281.)

Cameron, Rondo E. *France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800-1914.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 586. $10.00.)

Carmody, Francis J. *The Astronomical Works of Thabit B. Qurra.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1961. Pp. 262. $6.00.)

Carrouges, Michel. *Foucauld devant l'Afrique du Nord.* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 1961. Pp. 256. 9,90 N.F.)

Chandra-Sekhar, Sripati. *Red China. An Asian View.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. 1961. Pp. viii, 230. $4.00.)

Chapman, Ronald. *Father Faber.* (London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. 1961. Pp. 374. 35s.)

Chrimes, S. B., and A. L. Brown. *Select Documents of English Constitution History: 1307-1485.* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1961. Pp. xxiv, 398. $7.00.)

Clark, Grahame. *World Prehistory: An Outline.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 284. $6.00 cloth; $2.45 paper.) A volume by a Fellow of Peterhouse who is Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge.

Clifford, Esther Rowland. *A Knight of Great Renown: The Life and Times of Othon de Grandson.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 313. $6.50.)

Cohen, Morris R. *The Meaning of Human History.* [The Paul Carus Lectures Series, No. 6, 1944.] (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court Publishing Co. Pp. xiv, 304. $1.75 [paper]. Second Edition.)

Cole, G. D. H., and Raymond Postgate. *The British Common People.* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1961. Pp. x, 742. $1.95.) [University Paperbacks.]

Cowan, Helen I. *British Emigration to British North America.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 321. $6.95.) A new edition of a volume that appeared originally in 1928. Miss Cowan has revised the earlier work in the light of recent research and enlarged the scope of the book to include an additional quarter century.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *The Transformation of the School. Progressivism in American Education: 1876-1957.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1961. Pp. xi, 387. [Index, xxiv].)

Curtis, Edmund. *A History of Ireland.* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1961. Pp. viii, 434. $1.95.) [University Paperbacks.]

Dawson, Christopher. *The Crisis of Western Education.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1961. Pp. vi, 246. $3.95.)

De Azcona, Tarsicio, O.F.M. Cap. *La eleccion y reforma del episcopado Español en tiempo de los reyes Católicos.* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas. 1960. Pp. xvi, 382. 140 Ptas.)

D'Haenens, Albert. *L'Abbaye Saint-Martin de Tournai de 1290 à 1350. Origines, évolution et dénouement d'une crise.* [Université de Louvain Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie: IV^e Série, Fasc. 23.] (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1961. Pp. 321. $6.40.)

Dejordy, Alma, and Harris Francis Fletcher (Eds.). *"A Library for Younger Scholers" Compiled by an English Scholar-Priest about 1655.* [Illinois Studies in Language and Literature: Vol. 48.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 149. $3.50.)

de la Costa, H., S.J. *The Jesuits in the Philippines: 1581-1768.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 702. $12.50.)

Department of State Publications 7015, 7163. *Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers. The Conference of Berlin (The Postdam Conference), 1945.* 2 vols. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. cxxviii, 1088; clxxvi, 1645. $6.00; $6.50.)

Department of State Publication 7101. *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1957.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1961. Pp. xlii, 1713. $5.25.)

Department of State Publication 7132. *Treaties in Force. A List of Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States in Force on January 1, 1961.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1961. Pp. viii, 296. $1.00.)

Department of State Publication 7165. *Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers: 1942* (in seven volumes). Vol. III: *Europe.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1961. Pp. vi, 869. $3.25.)

Department of State Publication 7187. *Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers: The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1961. Pp. lxxxviii, 932. $4.00.)

Department of State Publication 7188. *Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers: 1940.* Vol. V: *The American Republics.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1961. Pp. vii, 1202. $4.00.)

Diez, Ernst. *The Ancient Worlds of Asia: From Mesopotamia to the Yellow River.* Translated by W. C. Darwell. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1961. Pp. 240. $4.50.)

Document No. 445: House of Representatives, 86th Congress, 2nd Session. *Europe's Freedom Fighter: Taras Shevchenko, 1814-1861.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. 45.) A documentary biography of Ukraine's poet laureate and national hero.

Doernberg, Erwin. *Henry VIII and Luther.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 139. $3.50.)

Duckett, Eleanor Shipley. *The Gateway to the Middle Ages: France and Britain.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1961. Pp. 153. $1.75.) An Ann Arbor Paperback of a volume that came out in 1938 along with the other two titles listed here under Miss Duckett's name.

————————. *The Gateway to the Middle Ages: Italy.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1961. Pp. 219. $1.75.)

————————. *The Gateway to the Middle Ages: Monasticism.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1961. Pp. 262. $1.75.)

Eberhardt, Newman C., C.M. *A Summary of Catholic History.* Volume I: *Ancient and Medieval History.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1961. Pp. xi, 879. $12.00.)

Eliade, Mircea. *Images and Symbols. Studies in Religious Symbolism.* (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1961. Pp. 189. $3.50.)

Filler, Louis. *Crusaders for American Liberalism. The Story of the Muckrakers.* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press. 1961. Pp. xxiv,

422. $4.00.) The new printing of this 1939 book includes a new introductory essay on "The Critic of Business and the Organization Man."

Fine, Sidney, and Gerald S. Brown (Eds.). *The American Past: Conflicting Interpretations of the Great Issues.* Volumes I and II. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1961. Pp. xiii, 606; xii, 550. $3.50 per volume.) Paperbacks.

Fowler, Dorothy Ganfield, *John Coit Spooner: Defender of Presidents.* (New York: University Publishers, Inc. 1961. Pp. ix, 436. $6.00.) This full length biography presents the Senator from Wisconsin as the "personification of conservatism" and the archfoe of Robert M. La Follette. The study is based primarily on the papers of Spooner and fills a gap for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Gargan, Edward T. (Ed.). *The Intent of Toynbee's History.* (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 224. $5.00.)

Gilbert, Felix. *To the Farewell Address. Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 173. $3.75.)

Gilmore, Julia, S.C.L. *We Came North: Centennial Story of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth.* (St. Meinrad: Abbey Press for the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, Inc. 1961. Pp. ix, 538. $4.50.)

Glanzman, George S., S.J., and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. *An Introductory Bibliography for the Study of Scripture.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1961. Pp. xix, 135. $1.50.) [Woodstock Papers, No. 5.]

Gossman, Francis J. *Pope Urban II and Canon Law.* (Washington: Catholic University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 208. $3.00.) A dissertation for the doctorate in Canon Law.

Gough, Michael. *The Early Christians.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. Pp. 268. $6.50.) [A volume in the series "Ancient Peoples and Places," edited by Glyn Daniel.]

Grisar, Josef, S.I. *Die ersten Anklagen in Rom gegen das Institut Maria Wards (1622).* [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae: Vol. XXII.] (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1959. Pp. xx, 265.)

Guttridge, George H. (Ed.). *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke.* Volume III: *July, 1774-June, 1778.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xxv, 478. $12.00.)

Halévy, Elié. *Halévy's History of the English People.* Volume I: *England in 1815;* Volume II: *The Liberal Awakening (1815-1830);* Volume III: *The Triumph of Reform (1830-1841);* Volume IV: *Victorian Years (1841-1895);* Volume V: *Imperialism and the Rise of Labour (1895-1905);* Volume VI: *The Rule of Democracy (1905-1914).* Translated from the French by E. I. Watkin. (New York: Barnes &

Noble, Inc. 1961. Pp. xv, 655; xiii, 325; vii, 364; viii, 507; xiii, 442; x, 686. $1.95 each.) [University Paperbacks.]

Hemmer, H. *Fernand Portal (1855-1926): Apostle of Unity.* Translated and edited by Arthur H. Macmillan. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 182. $5.75.)

Herbert, Eugenia W. *The Artist and Social Reform. France and Belgium: 1885-1898.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 236 [23 plates]. $5.00.)

Herring, Hubert. *A History of Latin America: From the Beginnings to the Present.* 2d edition, revised. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1961. Pp. xxii, 845 [Index, xxiv].)

Hill, Henry Bertram (Translator). *The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 128. $3.75.)

Hoyt, Robert S. *Feudal Institutions: Cause or Consequence of Decentralization?* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 1961. Pp. 35. 75¢.)

Hubach, Robert A. *Early Midwestern Travel Narratives: An Annotated Bibliography 1634-1850.* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 149. $6.00.)

Hughes, H. Stuart. *Contemporary Europe: A History.* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1961. Pp. xv, 524. $7.50.)

Hughes, James L. J. (Ed.). *Patentee Officers in Ireland: 1173-1826. Including High Sheriffs, 1661-1684, and 1761-1816.* (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1960. Pp. vii, 142. 30 s.)

Hurley, Michael, S.J. *Scriptura Sola: Wyclif and His Critics.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1960. Pp. 78.) Doctoral dissertation in the Faculty of Sacred Theology of the Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome.

Iswolsky, Helene. *Christ in Russia. The History, Tradition and Life of the Russian Church.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1960. Pp. x, 213.)

Jansen, Marius B. *Sakamoto Ryoma and the Meiji Restoration.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 423. $8.50.)

Johnson, Charles (Ed.). *Hugh the Chantor. The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 138. $6.75.) [Nelson's Medieval Texts.]

Joravsky, David. *Soviet Marxism and Natural Science, 1917-1932.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 433. $7.50.)

Kähler, Heinz. *Rom und seine Welt. Bilder zur Geschichte und Kultur.* (München: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag. 1960. Pp. 488 [Plates, 149]. DM 34,50.)

Kariel, Henry S. *The Decline of American Pluralism.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 339. $6.75.)

Knowles, David. *The English Mystical Tradition.* (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1961. Pp. viii, 197. $3.75.)

Küng, Hans. *Concile et Retour à l'Unité. Se rénover pour susciter l'Unité.* [*Unam Sanctam:* 36.] (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf. 1961. Pp. 184. 9, 60 N.F.)

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age.* Volume III: *The Nineteenth Century Outside Europe: The Americas, the Pacific, Asia, and Africa.* (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1961. Pp. viii, 527. $7.50.)

Latreille, A., E. Delaruelle, J.-R. Palanque. *Histoire du Catholicisme en France:* Vol. II: *Sous les rois très chrétiens [1180-1740].* (Paris: Editions Spes. 1960. Pp. 508.)

Laurentin, René. *Lourdes. Histoire Authentique des Apparitions.* I: *Structure des témoignages, état de la question.* (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1961. Pp. 187.)

Lecler, Joseph, S.J. *Toleration and the Reformation.* Volume I: *Preliminary Data: The Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Middle Ages.* Volume II: *The Reformation in France and the Problem of Religious Pluralism in the State.* (New York: Association Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 432; ix, 544. $25.00 set.)

Leclercq, Jacques. *Christians in the World.* Translated by Kathleen Pond. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1961. Pp. x, 174. $3.50.)

Leonard, Charlene Marie. *Lyon Transformed. Public Works of the Second Empire, 1853-1864.* [University of California Publications in History, Vol. 67.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1961. Pp. 160. $3.50.)

Lissner, Ivar. *Man, God and Magic.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1961. Pp. 344. $5.95.)

Logan, John A., Jr. *No Transfer. An American Security Principle.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 430. $6.75.)

Maitland, F. E. *The Constitutional History of England.* Edited by H. A. L. Fisher. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xxviii, 548. $2.45 paper edition.) A paperback reprint of a work that appeared originally in 1908.

Mangin, Jean Philippe. *Le Nummulitique Sud-Pyrénéen. A l'Ouest de l'Aragon.* [*Pirineos,* Nos. 51-58.] (Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos. 1959-1960. Pp. 631 [incl. 2 maps].)

Marx, Karl, Friedrich Engels, N. Lenin. *The Essential Left: Four Classic Texts on the Principles of Socialism.* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1961. Pp. 254. $1.25 paper.) [Unwin Books.]

Matanić, Athanasius, O.F.M. *De Origine Tituli "Dalmatiae ac Totius Croatiae Primas."* Studium Historico-Criticum. (Roma: Sublaci. 1959. Pp. xvi, 87.)

Maurois, André. *Adrienne: The Life of the Marquise de la Fayette.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1961. Pp. xii, 482. $7.95.)

Mazour, Anatole G. *The First Russian Revolution, 1825. The Decembrist Movement.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 328. $6.75.) [A reprint.]

McAvoy, Thomas T., C.S.C. (Ed.). *The Midwest: Myth or Reality?* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 96. $3.50.) A series of papers read at the symposium held at the University of Notre Dame, April 8-9, 1960.

McNeill, Charles, and A. J. Otway-Ruthven. *Dowdall Deeds.* (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1960. Pp. lxxvi, 416. 60 s.)

Merzbacher, Friedrich. *Die Bischofsstadt.* Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Reihe Geisteswissenschaften, Heft 93. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag GMBH. 1961. Pp. 70. 4,30 DM.)

Ministerio de Educacion de la Nacion. *Documentos para la historia del libertador General San Martin.* Vol. I, 1953; Vol. II, 1954; Vol. III, 1954; Vol. IV, 1954; Vol. V, 1954; Vol. VI, 1955; Vol. VII, 1955; Vol. VIII, 1960. (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional Sanmartiniano y Museo Historico Nacional. 1953-1960. Pp. xxv, 469; xxii, 541; xiv, 587, xxi, 707; xxi, 583; xxii, 537, xx, 611; xv, 429.)

Morrall, John B. *Political Thought in Medieval Times.* 2d edition. (London: Hutchinson and Co. 1960. Pp. 154. 12 s 6d net.)

Na Champassak, Sisouk. *Storm Over Laos. A Contemporary History.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961. Pp. x, 202. $5.00.)

O'Gorman, Edmundo. *The Invention of America.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1961. Pp. 177. $5.00.)

O'Meara, John J. *Porphry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine.* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes. 1959. Pp. 184. 19 N.F.)

Pirri, Pietro, S.I. *Pio IX e Vittorio Emanuele II. Dal loro Carteggio Privato.* Vol. III: *La Questione Romana 1864-1870.* Parte I: *Testo.* Parte II: *Documenti.* [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae: Volumes XXIV, XXV.] (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1961. Pp. xii, 336; xv, 465.)

Pogány, András. *Béla Estván: Hungarian Cavalry Colonel in the Confederate Army.* (New York: Kossuth Foundation, Inc. 1961. Pp. 23. $2.00.) [Hungarian Studies Series.]

Powicke, Maurice. *The Reformation in England.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. 153. $1.25.) [Oxford Paperbacks #24.]

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Annual Meeting Held in Worcester, October 19, 1960. Vol. 70, Part 2, 1960. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society. 1961. Pp. 512, xxvi.)

Pumphrey, Ralph E., and Muriel W. Pumphrey (Eds.). *The Heritage of American Social Work. Readings in its Philosophical and Institutional Development.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 452. $10.00.) A volume containing 112 items of source material which run in time from 1601, with an excerpt from Captain John Smith of Virginia, to the Supreme Court decision of *Helvering et al v. Davis* of 1937.

Report of the meeting held in the Library at Brown University on the Early History of the Americas. *The John Carter Brown Library Conference.* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1961. Pp. 62.)

Rogers, Francis M. *The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 424. $7.50.)

Rosenthal, Earl E. *The Cathedral of Granada. A Study in the Spanish Renaissance.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 235 [Plates 127]. $20.00.)

Roucek, Joseph S. *Contemporary Political Ideologies.* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1961. Pp. x, 470. $10.00.)

Roy, Antoine (Ed.). *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1959-1960.* (Québec: Roch Lefebure. 1961. Pp. 369.)

Ruby, James S. (Ed.). *Blue and Gray. Georgetown University and the Civil War.* (Washington: Georgetown University Alumni Association, Inc. 1961. Pp. xv, 159. $5.00.) This volume, illustrated by about thirty contemporary pictures, gives thumbnail biographical sketches of the 1,141 alumni of Georgetown who fought in the Civil War of whom 925 were with the Confederacy and 216 with the Union Forces.

Sacks, Benjamin. *The Religious Issue in the State Schools of England & Wales, 1902-1914. A Nation's Quest for Human Dignity.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 292.)

Sauter, John D. *The American College of Louvain (1857-1898).* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain. 1959. Pp. xii, 289. Fr. 250.)

Schram, Louis M. J., C.I.C.M. *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier.* Part III: *Records of the Monguor Clans. History of the Monguors in Huangchung and the Chronicles of the Lu Family.* [*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* New Series, Volume 51.] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1961. Pp. 117. $3.00.)

Shiels, W. Eugene, S.J. *King and Church. The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real.* [Jesuit Studies.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 399.)

Shirer, William L. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. A History of Nazi Germany.* (New York: Simon and Shuster, Inc. 1960. Pp. xii, 1245. $10.00.)

Silvestro, Clement M., and Sally Ann Davis (Comp.). *Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada, 1961.* (Madison: American Association for State and Local History. 1961. Pp. 111. $1.50.)

Smith, James Ward, and A. Leland Jamison (Eds.). *Religion in American Life.* Volume I: *The Shaping of American Religion.* Volume II: *Religious Perspectives in American Culture.* Volume IV: *A Critical Bibliography of Religion.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. 514; 427; xx, 541; xv, 1219. $8.50; $7.50; $17.50 set.)

Smith, Joseph H. (Ed.). *Colonial Justice in Western Massachusetts: 1639-1702.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 426. $7.50.) [Legal Studies of the William Nelson Cromwell Foundation.] The Pynchon Court Record: An original judges' diary of the administration of justice in the Springfield Courts in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Smyth, Howard M. (Editor-in-Chief). *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945.* Series D (1937-1945). Vol. XI: *The War Years, September 1, 1940-January 31, 1941.* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. xciv, 1267. $4.75.)

Stebbins, Richard P. *The United States in World Affairs, 1960.* (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1961. Pp. xii, 436. $6.00.)

Stover, John F. *American Railroads.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 302. $5.00.) [A volume in the Chicago History of American Civilization, edited by Daniel J. Boorstin.]

Sugrue, Francis. *Popes in the Modern World.* (New York: Thomas Crowell Company. 1961. Pp. xi, 274. $4.95.)

Sykes, Norman. *Man as Churchman.* [Wiles Lectures, 1959.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 203. $4.00.)

Staudenraus, P. J. *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 323. $6.00.)

Thistlethwaite, Frank. *The Great Experiment. An Introduction to the History of the American People.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 335. $1.75.) A paperback reprint of a 1955 book.

Thomson, J. Oliver. *Everyman's Classical Atlas. With an Essay on the Development of Ancient Geographical Knowledge and Theory.* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. 1961. Pp. lxx, 125. $5.00.) A completely new and revised edition of *Everyman's Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography.* Old maps have been revised and a few new ones added. The editor has furnished a valuable introductory essay on ancient geographical knowledge and theory. There are a number of notes on ancient battles with accompanying sketch-maps, a series of photographs, and a good index. The price is rather high.

Thomson, Paul van K. *Francis Thompson: A Critical Biography.* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1961. Pp. 280. $5.00.)

Tischendorf, Alfred. *Great Britain and Mexico in the Era of Porfirio Diaz.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 197. $5.00.) A well documented monograph by an assistant professor of history in Duke University who is now engaged in research for a history of the Radical Party in Argentina.

Toynbee, Arnold J. *Reconsiderations. A Study of History.* Vol. XII. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 740. $10.00.)

Vehenne, Hugues. *The Story of Father Dominique Pire, Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, 1958.* Translated from French by John L. Skeffington. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1961. Pp. x, 221. $4.50.)

von Matt, Leonard, and Dom Stephan Hilpisch, O.S.B. *Saint Benedict.* Translated from German by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1961. Pp. 226 [Plates 190].)

Wall, Maureen. *The Penal Laws, 1691-1760. Church and State from the Treaty of Limerick to the Accession of George III.* [Irish History Series, No. 1.] (Dundalk, Eire: Dundalgan Press, Ltd. 1961. Pp. 72. 5s.) Published for Dublin Historical Association.

Weber, Francis J. *Right Reverend Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno, O.F.M. First Bishop of the Californias: 1785-1846.* (Los Angeles: Borromeo Guild. 1961. Pp. vii, 50. $1.50.)